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IAD ORIENTAL SERIES No 12

Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri

or

Letters of Aurangzebe

[WITH HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES]

Translated from the Original Persian into English

BY

JAMSHID H. BILIMORIA, B.A.

IDARAH-I ADABIYĀT-I DELLI
2009, QASIMJAN STREET, DELHI
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PREFACE.

There are three collections of Aurungzebe's Letters. First, the "Rúka'át-i-Alamgiri," or the "Kalimát-i-Taiyibát," collected and published by Ináyat Alláh, one of his principal secretaries, second, the "Rakáim-i-Karáim," by the son of another secretary Abdúl Karim Amir Khán, and third, the "Dastúr-al-Amal Agháhi," collected from various sources thirty-eight years after the emperor's death by a learned servant of Rájá Ayá Mal under the Raja's order. There is still another collection bearing the name of the "Adáb-i-Alamgiri," and comprising letters written by Aurungzebe to his father, his sons, and his officers

These letters have no dates and have no order. I have tried my best to assign dates to most of them. But it is impossible to do so in the case of each and every one of them, as some of them have no historical connection Most of the letters seem to have been written when Aurungzebe was engaged in his great Deccan War (1683-1707), especially during the latter period of the war.

These letters generally depict Aurungzebe's private life. Occasionally they allude to minor historical events which happened in his or in his father's time They exhibit Aurungzebe as a just, kind, and lenient king and as a religious and devout Mohemadan Again they display his orthodoxy and fanaticism which brought ruin to his house and empire after his death. In these letters we find Aurungzebe giving advice to his sons about the duties of a king,—how to govern the state by preserving order and peace in the kingdom and by protecting the person and property of the subjects. "No person can be more alive than Aurungzebe to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with

useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue[1] "

These letters are full of many fine and instructive passages from well-known Persian poets and thus afford a proof of Aurungzebe's Persian scholarship. "He (Aurungzebe) also discountenanced poets, who used to be honoured and pensioned, and abolished the office and salary of royal poet. It is even distinctly related that he prohibited the composition and recitation of poetry, but this extreme austerity must have been of very short duration, for his own notes and letters are filled with poetical quotations, and sometimes with extemporary verses made by himself[2] " "He (Aurungzebe) is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but he abstains from practising it[3] " Many Koranic verses are found in these letters This proves that he was well versed in the Koran which he had learnt by heart. These letters were not meant for a literary purpose. As the language is from a royal pen, the style of the letters is generally polite But at the same time, it is sweet and simple and sometimes figurative Again, a large meaning is conveyed by a short sentence. Sometimes the language is Indianised and many Indian words occur in the epistles The style is generally admirable.

"His (Aurungzebe's) prohibition of history was more permanent, he not only discontinued the regular annals of the empire, which had before been kept by a royal historiographer, but so effectually put a stop to all record of his transactions that from the eleventh year of his reign, the course of events can only be traced through the means of letters on business and of notes taken clandestinely by private individuals[4]" (*i. e* Kháfi Khán and others).

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1 Bernier.

2 Elphinstone

3 Mir At-i Alam

4 Elphinstone.

Alamgir (the Conqueror of the World) was a title conferred on Aurungzebe (the Ornament of the Throne) by his father Shah Jehan in order to pacify him when he made head against him during his dangerous illness 1657. When Aurungzebe ascended the throne he assumed this title and styled himself as Alamgir (the First). Aurungzebe is generally known by this name among his co-religionists It is not necessary to give here a life of Aurungzebe as it can be read in any ordinary Indian history.

The following books have been consulted

1 The History of India as told by Its Own Historians, Vol. VII, by Sir H Elliot

2 The History of India, by Elphinstone.

3 History of The Mahrattas, by Grant Duff

4. Aurungzebe, Rulers of India Series, by Lane Pool.

5 Travels in the Mogul Empire, by Bernier

6. Ain i Akbari, by Abûl Fazl

7 Mûntakhab-ûl-Lubáb, by Muhammad Háshim Kháfi Khan

8. Ma'asiri Alamgiri, by Muhammad Sáqui Mûsta'idd Khán,

J H BILIMORIA

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Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri

OR

AURUNGZEBE'S LETTERS.

INTRODUCTION [1]

In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement

After praising[2] the King (God) whose kingdom is immune from decline and fall and then praising the Refuge of the World (Mahomet, the prophet of the moslems), the ring of whose servitude adorns the ears of all world-conquering, throne-adorning and auspicious kings, it is not hidden from the bright minds of appreciative wise men and intelligent eloquent persons that in this work entitled "Ruka'át-i-Álamgiri" (Aurungzebe's Letters) otherwise styled "Kalimát-i-Taiyibát" (the Excellent Words), comprising the blessed letters of the just king Abul Műzaffar Muhudin Mahammad Aurung Bahadűr, the emperor of India–may God sanctify his tomb–, the words "the eldest son of sovereignty" (the heir-apparent) and "the happy son" stand for the eldest prince sultan Mahammad Műazzam, otherwise known as Sháh Álam Bahadűr and in some letters the words "the happy son" are also applicable to sultan Mahammad A'azam Sháh Bahádűr The words "the

1 This introduction is from the pen of the Persian compiler Inayat Allah Khan

2 The Persians generally commence their works with eulogies of God and their prophet

3 Muazzam was not the eldest but the second son Sultan Mahammad Bahadur was the eldest son but he died in prison (1676) before these letters were written As Mahammad Bahadur was not living at the time, Muazzam is naturally addressed as the eldest son in these letters Cf Let. XCI

unfriendly brother" are applied to Dara Shekūh, the eldest brother of His Majesty (Aurungzebe) The words "the dear grandson" and "the brave grandson" are (respectively) applicable to Mahammad Ma'az-ūd-Din Bahádūr, the eldest son of Sháh Álam Bahádūr and to Mahammad Bidár Bakhta Bahádūr, the eldest son of Sultan Mahammad A'azam Sháh Bahádūr The words "the grandson of high dignity" refer to Mahammad Azim-ūd-Din Bahadūr, the second son of Shah Álam Bahádūr The words "the pillar of the kingdom", "the centre of affairs" and "that sacrifice" are applied to Asad Khán, who after the death of Sháyasta Khán was made Ameer-ul-Umará[4] (the Grandee of the Grandees) of the court The words "Khán Firūz Jang" (Victorious Khán) refer to Ghází-ūd-Din Khán Bahádūr Firuz Jang The words "Nasrat Jang" (victorious in battle) mean Zūl Fikar Khán Bahádūr Nasrat Jang. The words "Mirzá Bakhashi" (the grandee, the paymaster) stand for Mirza Sadr-ūd-Din Mahammad Khan Safavi The words "meer átesh" (the master of ordnance) are applicable to Tarbiat Khán. By the word "Hamid" (the praiseworthy) is meant Hamid-ūd-Din Khan Bahadūr

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4 Shayasta Khan Aurungzebe's maternal uncle, died in 1694. Asad Khan was not, immediately after his death, honoured with this title of Ameer ul-Umara, but later on, i e, in 170- The title Ameer-ul Umara, which from its meaning would seem to be applicable to one at a time, seems to have been held (in Akbar's time) by several persons simultaneously In the Badshah Nameh, however, the use of the title of Ameer-ul-Umara is restricted to the first living grandee Ali Mardan Khan" It is said by Bernier to be "the first and most honourable title of Hindostan" Cf Let XCI

3

Letters addressed to Sultan Mahammad Muazzam, Shah Alam Bahadur, the Crown Prince.[1]

LETTER I

Eldest son of sovereignty, happy son, Mahammad Müazzam, may God protect and save you. His Majesty, having his abode in paradise (Sháh Jehán, Aurungzebe's father), had a great desire to conquer the provinces of Balkh, Badakhshán, Khorásán, and Hirát which were the ancient possessions of our ancestors [2]. He often sent there the royal forces under the command of Mūrád Bakhsha.[3]

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1 Aurungzebe's second son, born in 1643, of a Rajput princess He was sent by his father against Shivaji in order to arrest him, but was afterwards recalled Then he was appointed governor of the Deccan. 1667 In 1686 he took Haiderabad Afterwards he marched against Golconda, but he made a convention with the king, Abul Hasan, and communicated with him Aurungzebe was displeased with him on this account and imprisoned him, 1688, but released him five years later In 1700 he was appointed governor of Cabul He was an obedient son and was generous and kind. Most of the seven letters addressed to this prince seem to have been written between 1700 and 1707 when he was viceroy of Cabul In 1684 he was honoured with the title of Shah Alam Bahadur After the death of his father he ascended the throne under the name of Bahadur Shah (the First) in 1707 and ruled for five years He was a wise and able ruler Had he lived longer his reign would have been accounted prosperous and illustrious. During his rule the Sikhs were subjected to much persecution. It was also in his reign that Nizam-al-Mulk, the founder of the dynasty of the Nizams of the Deccan, and Sa'adat Ali Khan, the ancestor of the nabobs of Oude, came into prominence He died in 1712

2 Provinces in Persia and Afghanistan conquered by Timur and Babar. Balkh was the cradle of the Zoroastrian religion and a great capital of some of the ancient Persian kings Badakhshan is known for its ruby mines Hirat is the gate of India and was many times besieged by the Persians

3 Younger brother of Aurungzebe, who was sent by Shah Jehan to assist Ali Mardan Khan in Balkh He returned to Delhi without the emperor's leave and was consequently disgraced 1644. He was replaced by his brother Aurungzebe who retreated with great loss 1647 Then Murad was appointed viceroy of Gujarat When his father fell ill he joined his brother Aurungzebe and defeated Raja Jasvant Singh and Dara successively 1657. Afterwards he was imprisoned (1658) by Aurungzebe at Gwalior where he

Most of the provinces were conquered, but owing to impatience, that unfortunate man (Mŭrâd) returned (to the capital) without having been recalled by His Majesty and thereby lost the favour of the people and the grandees of those provinces. The kingdoms conquered and possessed were lost, and money was wasted on them. It is for this reason that it is said that "A daughter is better than an unworthy son". Attend to this (verse) that "If a father is unable to finish a work, the son must carry it out to completion". This mortal creature (Aurungzebe) has a wish which is still unfulfilled It was the desire of Shâh Jehân that I should send a grandson of His Majesty's to those districts with a grand army and sufficient equipment What more can I do? When you were here, I had insisted upon you to take Kandahâr,[4] but you have not conquered it. What of other cases, then? Evidently you have not done the work entrusted to you by me One who professes to know a thing must know it fully This my perishable life is now like the sun (setting) on the top of a mountain What does it concern me if I have these provinces or not? How will you shew your face to your rivals in this world and to the Holy, High, and Exalted God in the next world?

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was murdered in 1661 The date of his death is found from the following Persian verse "*Aya raye' ba har bahanch kushtand*" (Alas! he was killed on a pretext) He was very brave, but much addicted to drinking and at the same time foolish in politics Khafi Khan calls him a simpleton

4. Aurungzebe was sent to Kandahar by his father to conquer it, but having failed to do so he returned to Delhi 1649 Aurungzebe tried to recover Kandahar a second time, but again he failed 1652 The great Akbar wrested Kandahar from the Persians Shah Abbas took the city from Jehangir It fell to Shah Jehan through the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan It was again besieged and captured by the son of Shah Abbas and afterwards twice unsuccessfully attacked by Shah Jehan

"The wise of ancient times considered Kabul and Kandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan and the other to Persia. The custody of these highways secured India from foreign invaders, and they are likewise the appropriate portals to foreign travel"

Ain-i-Akbari. Cf Let IV

LETTER II.[1]

Happy son, Mahammad Mûazzam, may God protect and save you I came to know from the representation of a disinterested person that this year you observed the Nowroz[2] festival in the manner of the (present) Persians[3]. By God's grace, keep your faith firm From whom have you adopted this heretical innovation? Evidently you have been instructed by that Arab who lays claim to the title of Saiyad,[4] (but) who is the cause of disgrace to some good persons (the Saiyads). Anyhow this is a festivity of the

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1 This letter proves Aurungzebe's bigotry and fanaticism

2 Literally, the new day (Pers) It is a Persian festival introduced by Jamshid, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and observed on the day when he came to the throne, namely the day on which the sun enters the Aries (21st of March). It is still observed by the modern Persians and the Afghans with great pomp and enthusiasm and is the commencement of their political year This festival was introduced into India by Akbar, but was afterwards abolished by the 'religious' Aurungzebe (1659) The reckoning of the solar year was adopted by Akbar for political purposes; but Aurungzebe did away with it and introduced the old lunar year of the prophet Mahomet. This festival is still observed in India by the present Parsis and by the subjects of H H the Nizam Khafikhan says, "The Nowroz festival is observed by the Parsis (Majusis) of Kerman (a province in Persia) and of the harbour of Surat." "H M. (Akabar) enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents Thus when H. M was informed of the feast of Jamshid, and the festivals of the Parsi priests, he adopted them, and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. It (the new year's day feast) commences on the day when the sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the nineteenth day of the month (Farwardin, a Parsi month) Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents, the first day of the month of Farwardin, and the nineteenth, which is the time of the Sharaf."—*Ain-i-Akabari*.

3 They are Shiahs while Aurungzebe was a strict orthodox Sunni.

4. A descendent of the prophet Mahomet.

Majūsis.[5] According to the belief of the infidel Hindus it is the coronation day of the accursed Vikramájit[6] and the commencement of a Hindu era. Henceforward you should not observe it and repeat such folly. (Verse) "I have advised you often, but none of you (my sons) have searched after secrets". I seek forgiveness from God, my Lord, for every sin that I have committed, and I turn to Him (in repentance).

LETTER III.

Eldest son of sovereignty, I came to read your letter (requesting me) to confer an additional honour upon your fourth son,[1] for whom you seem to have the greatest affection. It is impossible to bestow such a favour upon a younger brother in supersession to an elder one (Again) it is strange that considering you are indifferent towards your family, you could have such affection for your son Anyhow (verse) "May you live long because this (i.e. the fact of your favouring and loving your younger son instead of loving your whole family) is sufficient." In order to please you I will pay attention to this request of yours in another way

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5 Magis, the ancient Persians and the forefathers of the present Parsis in India were known by this name by the Arabs It is said to be an Arabic corruption of the Avestic 'Mazdasnians', those who believe in 'Mazda' (the wise God) The English words 'magic', 'magician' &c. are derived from this word

6 Vikram the Invincible, a Hindu prince of the Andhra dynasty of Malwa who ruled at Ujjain He was a philanthropic, popular and enlightened ruler and a great patron of literature Kalidas, the author of Sakuntala, flourished in his reign He defeated the Scythians in the battle of Kahror and founded a Hindu era (B C 56), known as Vikramajit Samvat which is still current in Northern India The era current in the Deccan is called Salihvan Saka era (A.D 78), named after Salihvan, a Hindu king of the Deccan There flourished many kings bearing the name of Vikram.

1 Rafi-ul-Kadr or Rafi-ush-Shan, born in 1671.

LETTER IV.

Eldest son of sovereignty, I came to know that you disregard the soldiers and care more for the highly paid servants It seems that you intend going to Kandahár.[1] May the grace of God be with you But I could not understand your request about returning to the capital of Láhore [2] I degraded Násir Khán[3] to Pán-Sadi[4] and I dismissed that Hindu councillor from (my) service (Verse) "Other persons act wrongfully because we shew them so much favour"

LETTER V.[1]

Eldest son of sovereignty, why have you displeased Fateh Alláh Khán[2] notwithstanding his good nature? When

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1 Cf Let I

2 The chief town of the Punjab

3 Abu Nasir Khan, a nobleman of Aurungzebe. The mosque of Jajnagar, in Orissa, was built by him in 1687 Before 1696 he was governor of Cashmere In 1697 he was appointed governor of Lahore Cf Let CIX

4 A title given by the Mogul emperors to a general holding command of *five hundred*, who was called a 'mansabdar' When a general offended his master he was degraded from his post to a lower one Cf Let XVI.

1 This letter is an instance of Aurungzebe's habit of self eulogy

2 A very brave soldier of Turan in the army of Aurungzebe. Khafi Khan, the historian, says that he had no rival in bravery and calls him 'a lion in battle' In 1700 he was sent against the Mahrattas and took part in the seige of Sattara In 1702 he was given the title of 'Bahadur' In the same year he was sent along with Bahremand Khan to take the fortress of Chandan Mandan which shortly surrendered to the imperial army. In 1703 he took an active part in the seige of Khelna. After the capture of Khelna (1703) he was entitled 'Alamgiri' as he displayed much bravery in taking the fortress. In the same year he was appointed to a post in Cabul where he was sent to Muazzam in 1704 But as he could not agree with the prince he stayed in the Punjab After Aurungzeb's death, the prince asked for his help against his brothers but the Khan could not help him Cf Let CIV Here Aurungzebe seems to display faith and trust in his generals.

I was a prince I used to treat the nobles in such a way that all were pleased and whether present or absent praised me much Nay, notwithstanding the merit and dignity of the unfriendly brother[3] some of them deserted him and entered my service[4] I closed my eyes upon some of them, who, at the instigation of the unfriendly brother, practised unworthy actions and used abusive words For the sake of justice they admitted my patience and endurance And the impression of my generalship and bravery[5] was made upon the tablet of the noble heart of His Holy Majesty (Sháh Jehán) Difficult acts were performed by

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3 i e Dara Shekuh, Buland Ikbal, Aurungzebe's eldest brother He laid seige to Kandahar unsuccessfully 1653 During his father's illness (1657) he carried on the government He defeated Shuja, his brother near Benaras by sending an army under his son Soliman He was defeated by the combined armies of Murad and Aurungzebe at Fatehabad (Samugarh) near the Chambal, through the mistake of dismounting from his elephant at the request of the treacherous Khalil Allah when everything was in his favour 1658 Then he was pursued by Aurungzebe During his flight to Gujarat (near Ahmedabad), Bernier, the French traveller and physician to Aurungzebe, happened to meet Dara and stayed with him for three days At last Dara was treacherously handed over to Aurungzebe by Malik Jivan, the wretched prince of Jun, in Sinde, at whose place he was his guest After a mock trial Aurungzebe put him to a horrible death in 1659. He was a free thinker and of tolerant views like the great Akbar Had he come to the throne he would have proved a second Akbar and the history of India would have been quite different He was polite and extremely liberal, but at the same time proud His mind had a poetic and philosophic tendency His poetical name was 'Kadiri' He got translated from Sanskrit into Persian the Upanishads, the philosophical appendices of the Vedas, especially of the Atharva Veda Aurungzebe calls him everywhere in these letters 'unfriendly brother', because he was jealous of his power and did not like him as being a free thinker and Shiah Khan Khan calls him 'unfortunate' He had two sons, Soliman Shekuh and Sipher Shekuh, both of whom were imprisoned by Aurungzebe for life

4. After Dara's defeat at Samugarh many nobles, such as, Raja Jasvant Singh, Raja Jai Singh, Shayista Khan and others deserted Dara and joined Aurungzebe.

5 Aurungzebe displayed his bravery and generalship at Balkh and at Kandahar when he was a prince though he was forced to retreat.

the strength of the arm of this weak ant[6] You have broken the heart of Fateh Allah Khan, a soldier, brave and useful in all affairs, who would have been useful to you in important matters (after me)[7] (Verse) "What benefit is there if you give a thousand gems and jewels but at the same time break the inward gem (i e the heart) of a person?" Done is done and cannot be undone It will be better if you win his heart, and it will be more advantageous to you for putting your affairs in order (Couplet) "I advise you, listen to the advice, don't evade it Listen to the advice given by a kind counsellor" The sooner the better Peace be upon those who follow the right path.

1686 LETTER VI.

Happy son, Mahammad Muazzam, may God protect and save you I came to know from a letter of a dear friend that you attend the court with a saffron-like (yellow) turban on your head and 'palvani'[1] robe on your body You have reached the age of forty-six Bravo! With this (white) beard you put on a gaudy dress

1704. LETTER VII[1].

Eldest son of sovereignty, I have despatched Muna'am Khán[2] to you so that he may deliver my message soon to

6 I.e. Aurungzebe himself Here Aurungzebe seems to shew humility

7 Fateh Allah Khan did not help the prince against his brothers after his father's death

1 A kind of silken cloth (a Hindustani word)

1 This letter seems to have been written some two or three years before Aurungzebe's death at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan Cf Let LXXII and Cf. LXXIII Again Cf Let XX, XLIV and CXVII This letter has not been mentioned by Elphinstone in his history.

2 A nobleman in Aurungzebe's court He took part in the seige of Khelna 1703. In the same year he was appointed minister of Lahore In 1704 he was made minister to Prince Muazzam of Cabul After Aurungzebe's death, he helped the prince in getting the throne for him He was appointed vizier by the prince when he came to the throne and was honoured with the title of Khan Khanan 1707 He died in 1710 He was a Sufi and wrote a book called 'M Haniyi' Khafi Khan, the historian, describes him as 'a very able man of business.'

you I am not conscious of myself (I do not know) whe I am and where I go and what will happen to this sinner, full of sins Now I will say good bye to every one in this world and will entrust every one to the care of God My famous and auspicious sons should not quarrel among themselves and allow a general massacre of the people who are the servants of God (after my death)[3] May God, the changer of hearts, make His grace for the protection of the people who are His deposits (in this world) and His wonderful creatures, the light for the path of the kings (i e may God make the kings protect their subjects)[4]

3 This advice was not carried out by Aurungzebe's sons as is proved by the fratricidal war that broke out in the empire after Aurungzebe's death

4 This shows that Aurungzebe greatly loved his subjects and wished their welfare He tried his best to keep them in peace and prosperity In a letter to Shah Jehan quoted by Khafi Khan in his history, Aurungzebe says, "Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self indulgence and libertinism" Bernier the French doctor who spent eight years at Aurungzebe's court quotes some lines from Aurungzebe's letter addressed to his captive father "He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity" Again Bernier says "I (Aurungzebe) was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself but for others" Again he says "The obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand, in defence of the people committed to his care"

Letters addressed to
Prince Mahammad A'azam Shah Bahadur[1]

LETTER VIII

Exalted son, I am much pleased with riding the ambling horse[2] which you sent to me this time The horse reminds me of the sympathy felt for the old father by the fortunate son Owing to great joy I have named him 'Khush-Kharám' (walking smartly) As you are perfectly skilled in finding out an appropriate name for everything, (I hope) you will give an appropriate name to each of my favourite horses and then write to me about it A list of these horses along with the details of their colour and breed will be (shortly) supplied to you by the head groom

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LETTER IX

Exalted son, I was much pleased with the 'dali'[3] of

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1 Aurangzebe's third son, born in 1653 He was sent against Shivaji, but failed He took part in the last siege of Bijapur and of Golconda He also took an active part in the siege of Pundie which he captured In 1676 he was made governor of Multan, and in 1681, governor of the Punjab In 1703 he was appointed governor of Gujarat, and in 1705, governor of Malwa After the death of his father he led an army against Muazzam, his elder brother, but was defeated and slain near Agra 1708 He was the favourite son of his father (cf Let XXIX) Khafi Khan says [illegible] considered himself heir-apparent to the throne He was jealous of his brothers, especially of Muazzam Aurangzebe says in his last will, "Let all the king's servants be true and faithful to Mahammad A'azam Shah" Many of the letters to him seem to have been addressed when he was viceroy of Gujarat (1703-1705)

2 "In this place (the great royal square at Shah Jehan Abad) also at the break of day they exercise the royal horses, which are kept in spacious stable not far distant and here the kobat-khan, or grand muster master of the cavalry, examines carefully the horses of those who have been received into the service If they are found to be Turkish horses, that is from Turkestan or Tartary, and of a proper size and adequate strength they are branded on the thigh with the king's mark and with the mark of the Umarâh under whom the horseman is enlisted " *Bernier*

3. An Indian word for a basket its Persian equivalent being 'sabad'

mangoes[2] sent by you to the old father You have requested me to suggest names for the unknown mangoes When you yourself are very clever, why do you give trouble to (your) old father ? However I have named them 'Sudha-ras' and 'Rasna-vilas'

LETTER X.

Exalted son, I remember the savour of your 'khichadi'[1] and 'biryani'[2] during the winter Truly, the 'kabuli' cooked by Islam Khan does not surpass them (in point of relish and savour) I wanted to have from you (in my service) Salimán, who cooks 'biryani', but you did not allow him to serve me as my cook If you happen to find a pupil of his, skilful in the art of cookery, you will send him to me However, happy is the day when you come, eat,

2 "Ambas, or mangoes, are in season during two summer months, and are plentiful and cheap but those grown at Delhi are indifferent The best come from Bengal, Golconda and Goa and these are indeed excellent, yielding to no sweetmeat in flavour and lusciousness Bernier This fruit is unrivalled in colour, smell and taste In shape it resembles an apricot or a quince or a pear or a melon, and weighs even one seer (lb) and upwards There are green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet, and acid mangoes Mangoes are to be found everywhere in India, especially in Bengal Gujerat, Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan" Ain-i-Akbari In the time of Akbar 100 mangoes were worth near gold

3 Sanskrit names given to two kinds of mangoes Sans 'Sudha' nectar and 'ras' juice, i e as sweet as nectar Sans 'Rasna' the tongue and 'vilas' pleasure i e relishable to the palate Here Aurungzebe shews his knowledge of Sanskrit

1 Rice mixed with pulse and cooked, an Indian word 'Khichadi is a mess of leguminous plants, the general food of the common people Bernier He further says it was a favourite dish of Shah Jehan' Elsewhere he says it is 'a mess of rice and other vegetables over which, when boiled they pour melted butter' Its ingredients are rice, split dal (pulse), salt, and ghee (melted butter) In Akbar's time it was also called 'suhyanah'.

2 An Indian word for roasted meat

3 Another Indian word for a kind of food prepared of rice and beans Ingredients rice, meat, ghee, gram, onions, al, fresh ginger, cinnamon, &c

and make others eat (Couplet) "Happy is the day and happy is the time when a friend enjoys the company of (another) friend."[4] (Couplet) "The desire (for eating) has not entirely left me, (though) blackness has departed from (my) hair, it has not departed from (my) face" (i.e though I have become old, I have not yet given up my former habit of indulging in the pleasures of the palate)[5]

1692 LETTER XI

Exalted son, may God be praised that the grandson Bahadur[1] has become brave and day by day his fortune is being improved you should not be careless in training your son Bahádur[2]. If he can, in the province of Málwá[3] he will get a victory over the Senápati[4] and (then) punish the Játs[5] I have issued an order that the great Rajput

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4 Cf Let CXV

5 This letter and the preceding one shew Aurungzebe's great likeness for delicacies in his youth as well as in his old age This proves that generally his manner of living was not simple Cf Let. XXI, LVII, CXVII.

1. The eldest son of A'azam Cf Let. LXXVI

2 Cf Let LXXXV

3. A province to the east of Gujarat, once governed by the Hindu kings Vikramajit and Bhoj, their capital being at Ujjan, and subsequently by Mohemadan kings, their capital being at Mundoo Its chief produce is opium.

4 A Sanskrit word for a general, or a chief commander of an army. Sans. 'Sena'=an army and 'pati' a chief Its Persian equivalent is 'Surnobut'

5. A warlike Hindu tribe of Rajputana They defended the well-known fort of Bharatpur eighteen times against the English They belong to the Súdra class found near Agra They first came into prominence, as a nation, during Aurungzebe's time They dared to attack the rear of the imperial army During Aurungzebe's expedition to the Deccan they first came into notice as a gang of banditti, under Churaman They rebelled near Akbarabad in 1692 and killed Aghar Khan who was returning from Cabul to the Emperor Khan Jehan Bahadur Kokaltash who had been sent against them could not subdue them He was recalled and prince Mahammad Bidar Bakhta was sent against them

prince Raja Basan Singh Kachava[6] should join him and that the fort-keeper of Akabarábád[7] should provide him with artillery[8] and other baggage necessary for war You should go to the mouth of the Nurbaddá[9], and then by the way to the right you should reach Islámábád, otherwise known as Mathúrá[10] (in order to join your son)

LETTER XII[1]

Blessed son, His Most Exalted Majesty[2] used to say,

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6 A Hindu Raja of Ambhar or Ameir, son of Ram Singh and father of Mirza Raja Jai Singh Sewai He died about 1693 Kachava was the title of the Rajas of Ambhar or Jaipur who were related to Akbar and Jehangir Raja Bhagwandas and Raja Mansingh of Akbar's time belonged to this clan

7 A city near Agra Lit the city of Akbar It was the new Agra Cf Let XCI

8 "The artillery is of two sorts, the heavy and the light, or, as they call the latter, the artillery of the stirrup The heavy artillery did not always follow the king But the light artillery is always intended to be near the king's person, and on that account takes the name of artillery of the stirrup There are artillerymen who receive great pay, i e Rs 200 a month, particularly all the Europeans, but now the king admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two rupees" Bernier "The imperial arsenal contains manufactured, purchased, and presented, guns Each of them is either long, or short, and these are again subdivided into plain, coloured, and hammered guns" Ain-i-Akbari

9 A river, in Malwa and in Gujarat, taking its rise from the Vindhyachals, and falling into the gulf of Cambay It is very deep and stormy and is regarded sacred by the Hindus The city of Broach stands on this river. It literally means in Sanskrit 'giving pleasure' (Narmada)

10 Muttra a town in the north of India, possessing a famous Hindu shrine, once plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni It was the birthplace of Krishna and is sacred to the Hindus Its sweet balls are well known It was changed into Islamabad (City of Islam) by Aurungzebe when he destroyed the temple thereof 1669 Cf Madura, 'Southern Mathura,' a town in the Karnatic, in the South of India

1 This letter gives us a detailed account of how Shah Jehan used to pass his time Cf the Ain-i-Akbari (book I, ain 72) where Abul Fazl describes how Akbar used to pass his time

2 *I e* Shah Jehan, father of Aurungzebe, his original name being Khurram He was the third son of Jehangir, born at Lahore in 1592

"Hunting is the business of idle persons. It is very reprehensible for one to be absorbed in worldly affairs, and to disregard religious matters. Because this world is as a field in relation to the next world (i. e. as you sow so shall you reap)." It is said of His Majesty (Shah Jehan) that he used to get up cheerfully at four o'clock[3] in the morning, (then) he performed ablution at the 'Ábshár-i-Taufeek'[4] and engaged himself in reciting the daily portions of prayer. Before daybreak, after the cry of the 'Müazzin',[5] he said the morning prayer in the company of learned men. Then he went to the 'Jharukhá-i-Darshan'[6] and favoured

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During his father's time when he was viceroy of the Deccan he rebelled against his father. He came to the throne of Delhi in 1627 after the death of his father. He was a wise, able, and popular emperor of Delhi and was the most magnificent prince that ever ruled at Delhi. His reign was peaceful (except for the rebellion of Khan Jehan Lodi) and prosperous. He was dethroned and imprisoned by his son, Aurungzebe (1658), and died in prison at Agra in 1666. The date of his death may be found from the following two Persian phrases: "Shah Jehan kard vafat" (i. e. Shah Jehan died) and "Raza Allah" (i. e. God's wish). He is chiefly remembered for the Taj Mahal and the Peacock Throne. He was the founder of Shahjehanabad, the new Delhi. The massacre of the Portuguese in Bengal is a stain on his character. He was called 'Sahib Karan-i-Sani,' the Second Tamerlane, because he was born like Timur when Jupiter and Venus were 'in the same house.' After the death of Shah Jehan (1666) Aurungzebe used to write 'Aala Hazarat' (His Majesty) for his father in his letters and he ordered all his officers to use this title for his deceased father. Not a single letter addressed by Aurungzebe to his father is mentioned in this collection. Khafi Khan mentions at least some three letters addressed to Shah Jehan. Aurungzebe was kind and respectful to his captive father.

3. The word 'ghari', used in the Persian text, is an Indian term. It means a measure of time, water, &c. It is nearly equivalent to half an hour. One 'ghari' makes twenty-four minutes. Cf. the Indian word 'ghadial' or 'gharial', meaning a gong and then a watch or a clock, derived from 'ghari' or 'ghadi'.

4. Lit. 'Waterfall of Grace,' name of a fountain in Shah Jehan's palace, used for purposes of ablution.

5. A Mohemadan public crier who calls people to prayer in a mosque. It comes from Ar. 'A'azan', to call or to invite.

6. A *balcony*, or an ample open window, below which people used to assemble in the morning to *see* the face of their emperor. It is still to be

the 'darshanians'[7] with the blessed sight of his auspicious face At about ten o'clock he went to the 'Diván-i-Aam'[8] (in order to hold a public audience). In this assembly all officers bowed down to and saluted the emperor. The ministers and the treasurers represented to His Majesty the arrangements made for the crown servants, the facts about their good services, and the loyalty of inspectors, police officers, supervisors and district officers, fulfilled the

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seen at Delhi The Mogul emperors used to sit on the balcony once or twice a day in order to convince their subjects that they were alive Many devoted Hindus used to take their food in the morning after seeing the royal face From the eleventh year Aurungzebe ceased sitting at the Jharukha, which faced the Jamna, and forbade the assembling of the crowd beneath it only through his religious ideas. 1668 Jharukha' or 'Jharuka' is an Indian word for a balcony or a terrace 'Darshan' is a Sanskrit word, derived from 'drash', to see, hence it originally means 'seeing' Then it means 'meeting a great person and seeing his face'. It is also a religious term among the Hindus who apply it to going into a temple to *see* the idol and worship it

7 Those who assembled to see the royal face Cf n 6 Supra

8 One of the two places in the palace of the Mogul emperors

It was a large hall for the public audience. Oppo 'Divan-i-Khas, used by the nobles only These two halls are still to be seen at Delhi Bernier gives a very fine description of them He says "I must not forget the 'Aam o-Khas,' to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned This is really a noble edifice, it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our Place Royal, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the 'Aam-o-Khas' have no buildings over them Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious 'Divan,' (raised place) quite open on the side of the court, called 'Nakar Khaneh. (Cf Let XXVIII) In this place which thence derives its name are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and tymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night (Cf Hindu 'Cho-gadias') To the ears of a European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many tymbals, which play together One of the hautboys, called 'karna', is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a French foot You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the 'Nakar

desires of every one and encouraged others After the usual inspection of the imperial horses and elephants, at eleven o clock, he illumined (i.e. went to) the 'Divan-i-Khás.[9] In this place the secretaries reported to him the facts about the newly appointed officers and received from

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khaneh' On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable, but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure, in the night, particularly when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand and melodious This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and cymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The 'nakar khaneh' is placed in an elevated situation and remote from the royal apartments, that the king may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

"Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the 'nakar khaneh' as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold The hall is raised considerably from the ground and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left, while eunuchs standing about the royal person, flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans. Immediately under the throne is a 'diván', surrounded by silver rails, on which are assembled the whole body of Umaras, the Rajas, and the ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed At a greater distance from the throne are the Mansabdars or inferior umaras also standing in the same posture of profound reverence The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole court-yard are filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor, because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects, hence it is called Aam-Khas', or audience chamber of high and low."

Bernier further says: "All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the 'Aam-Khas', are brought to the king and read in his hearing, and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the monarch himself, who often redresses at the instant the wrongs of the aggrieved party."

9. Cf. N. 8. supra.

him his final orders (regarding them) They (further) related to him important facts and events occuring in every province and considered orders, issued by him regarding every case, as final These transactions were carried on till noon time After this he directed his attention to take the special food which was emphatically prepared from lawful means For strengthening the body, (having) strength for prayer, and giving justice (to his subjects) he took his dinner in proportion to the (need for) maintenance of life in the body Then he inquired about the eating and drinking of those who were maintained by him and of those who were daily given food by him, most of whom were men of learning and excellence, seekers after knowledge, needy and poor persons, orphans, destitute and sick men, and he used to recognise most of them with an alchemy-like sight. (Then) he retired into his special sleeping room where he slept (nearly from eleven to one o clock) for a time with an awakened mind. At two o'clock he came out from this room, performed ablution and engaged himself in reading the holy Koran After saying the noon prayer, with sacred mutterings on his lips and a rosary in hands, he came to the 'Asad Burj',[10] and took his seat there. There the chief ministers presented themselves before him and engaged themselves in representing to and producing before him the financial and political questions and presented before him petitions to be signed At four o'clock he returned to the 'Divan-i-Aam' At this time the registrar and the private secretary presented, before his august presence, those who were recently appointed (in the state service) and those who wanted estates. His Majesty inquired carefully into the personal and ancestral qualifications, the personal ability and the merit of each of them, and then issued orders for assigning posts and fixing

10 Lit 'the Tower of the Lion', a tower in the palace

sums of money as jaghirs '[11] After sunset he retired from the 'Diván-i-Aam', offered evening prayers and (then) entered his special private chamber There were present sweet-tounged historians, eloquent story-tellers, sweet-voiced musicians and numerous travellers The females (were sitting) behind the curtain, (while) the males, in front of it. In accordance with the dictates of His Majesty's noblest and highest nature, each of them related stories of ancient great personages and kings and spoke about the wonders and antiquities of different countries. In short His Majesty passed, till midnight, the hours of day and night, in this manner, and (thus) did justice to life and sovereignty (i e spent his time thus) As (my) paternal love regarding (my) son is from the heart (i e true and sincere) and not from the pen (i e. false), I was obliged to write and inform (my) dear son what was good and valuable. I have penned what I have been able to recall to mind this time Excuse me

LETTER XIII

Exalted son, Mahammad A'azam, may God protect and save you It seems you ride very fast (You rode) so fast that Saiyad, your canopy bearer, fell down on the ground and (soon) gave up the ghost When you were here before me, you were indifferent and absent-minded You have seen my manner of riding Why have you acted contrary to that? (Verse) " Ride slowly and gently, but don't ride pompously and fast, because a thousand dead bodies are buried in the ground beneath your feet"

LETTER XIV[1]

Blessed son, Mahammad A'azam, may God protect and save you In order to please the most stupid Afazal,

11 Estates given to 'mansabdars' for the maintenance of armies for the use of the emperor

1 This letter reveals Aurungzebe's sence of justice and his antipathy to tyrants. Cf. Let CLXX and LXVIII and CLII Aurungzebe was 'the

you have not dismissed the tyrant, Hasan Beg of Chakleh Kūrā. The people there are lamenting and bewailing and are much distressed They say (verse) "If you will not give us justice, there is the Day of Judgment (doomsday) for our justice (i e God will judge our cause)" The real accountants[2] record the tyranny of the officers in your and my accounts Know well for compensating these actions (of tyranny from Hasan Beg) and enquire into the conditions of the inhabitants of that place, otherwise the 'jaghir will be taken away from you and you will have no recompense for the loss

LETTER XV [1]

Exalted son, I came to know that Mustafā Kulli Beg, your private secretary, performs your work carefully This is sufficient If you will write to me for giving an additional post to and conferring the title of a Khan on him, I will favour him with them An honest man is like unalloyed gold (Couplet) "Human beings are found everywhere in this world, but their essence (i e honesty) is found very rarely (i e there are many men in this world, but honest men are very few)" One day, the late Sa'ad Allāh Khan[2], after being disengaged from prayer, raised

main ocean of justice' (Ovington) Khafi Khan calls him a 'mild and painstaking judge, easy of approach, and gentle of manner' Aurungzebe personally administered justice to his people He did not connive at illegal extortion or the oppression of the poor

2. Two angels who watch and record the actions of every man and who are supposed to be invisibly sitting on both the shoulders of each man (a Mohemadan belief)

1 This letter shows that Aurungzebe loved honest men and liked to employ them in his service and rewarded them for their honesty Cf. Let XXXVI Somewhere he complains that honest men were very scarce in his time Cf Let LVI and LXXX

2 Sa'ad Allah Khan Allami or Fahhami was an able minister of Shah Jehan and was entitled 'Jamlat-ūl-Mulk' He was a Hindu convert and the most upright statesman of his age Bernier calls him 'the most accomplished statesman of Asia' He took part with the prince Aurungzebe

up his hands, for a long time, asking for blessings (from God) One of the impudent courtiers asked (him), "What is your wish ?" He replied, "(I pray) to be an honest man" Truly, he gave a (very) good reply Though the quality of honesty and sincerity, bestowed by the High God upon (every) human being, is natural (in him from his very birth), it requires (the help of) encouragement and reward from the master, so that the servant may live in a comfortable condition and in proportion to his condition he may be free from any anxiety with regard to his livelihood, and consequently worldly needs will not corrupt his faith (Verse) Because a happy and contented servant works more"

LETTER XVI

Exalted son you have requested me to give a 'Máhi-Maráteb'[1] to Nasrat Jang[2] Though it is not a rule to give it to an inferior to a 'Sesh-Hazári'[3], I give it to him

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in the seige of Balkh (1646) and of Kandahar (1648-1651) Shah Jehan sent him to Chitor in order to demolish its fort and to punish the Rana, Jagat Singh, the father of Raja Jai Singh (1653) He was murdered at the instigation of Dara in 1655 He was also a good scholar, hence he was called 'Allami' (learned) He was the patron of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the author of 'Bádshah Nameh', a history of the first twenty years of Shah Jehan's reign Aurungzebe refers to him in these letters as a model during the long reign of Shah Jehan Cf Let LII

1 The Order of the Fish, a title conferred on princes or other members of the royal family It was also a kind of banner with the figure of the *fish* and other insignia (two balls), carried as an ensign upon an elephant by a prince or a member of the royal family

2 A son of Asad Khan, otherwise known as Zul Fikar Khan, and a brave general of Aurungzebe Cf Let XCII, CXXXV, CLX to CLXIV

3 A military title given to princes in the time of the Moguls and introduced by Akbar It was given to that member of the royal family who commanded six *thousand* soldiers Princes who commanded soldiers numbering from 6000 to 10000 were called 'sesh-hazari' 'haft-hazari', 'dah-hazari' and so on Those who commanded an army of 5000 men, or less than 5000, i e, from 1000 to 5000, were called 'panj-hazari', 'chehar-hazari', and so on These latter titles were given to nobles and grandees Cf. L. IV

as he has accomplished your two important affairs and also to please you He will get one of the 'Mahi-i-Marátebs' which have been brought (here), and thank (us) for this great gift which is above dignity

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The term 'Amir of 5000' did not imply actual possession of 5000 horsemen, though it meant so originally, an Amir' of 5000 sometimes was ordered to keep only 500 horse, the rest was on paper only The 'Mansabdars' of 100 upto 1000 were low persons raised to dignity by the emperor who gave them lands for the horse they maintained for him "The Umaras mostly consist of adventurers from different nations, and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education The Mogul raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice, some of the Umaras have the title of hazary, or lord of a thousand horse, some, of do hazary, lord of two thousand horse some of deh-hazary, lord of ten thousand horse, and sometimes an Umara has the title of doazdeh-hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse, as was the case with the king's eldest son Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses and two horses are generally allowed to one cavalier' Bernier Sometimes some jaghirs' are assigned to some of the Umaras for the payment of their salary The Umaras are the 'pillars of the empire "Mansabdars are horsemen with 'mansab' pay which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable, not equal to that of the Umaras, but much greater than the common pay Hence they are looked on as petty Umaras They acknowledge no other chief but the king' Bernier

"The whole of the army, from the Umara to the private soldier, is paid every two months the king's pay is the only means of sustenance.' Bernier

"For this cause did His Majesty (i e Akbar) establish the ranks of mansabdar (officers), from the 'dah-bashi' (commander of ten) to the 'dah-hazari' (commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above five thousand to his august sons The number of mansabs is sixty-six" Ain-i Akbari

'Panj-hazari-zat i sih nazar sawar'=a commander of 5000, personally, and in actual command of 5000 cavalry

'Panj-hazari, panj-hazar sawar i-du aspeh-sih-aspeh a commander of 5000, contingent 5000 cavalry, with two horses, with three horses.

A trooper is called 'du aspeh', if he has two horses, and 'sih-aspeh', if three, in order to change horses during 'elghars' or forced marches The higher 'mansabdars' were mostly governors of subah (provinces) Akbar's Mansabdars had larger contingents, especially more horses, than the Mansabdars of the following reigns, during which the brevet ranks (zat) were multiplied The monthly salaries of the Mansabdars varied from Rs. 60000 to Rs. 100

LETTER XVII.

Exalted son, Mir Khan,[1] the superintendent of the provinces belonging to your army, refuses to govern the district of 'Sakra' and wants another district in return for it. We have small sum of money and many have a demand for this (i.e. we have got a few provinces and there are many persons demanding them) The flesh and bones should be distributed equally. There is no possibility of getting a substitute for 'Sakrá'. You should write to him to find out the difference between the two sums of money, produced by the district of 'Sakra' and by the other district which he wants in return for 'Sakra', and I will pay that difference to him in money

1686. LETTER XVIII

Happy son, Mahammad A'azam, may God protect and save you I came to know from the events (that have happened) in the province of Malwa,[1] that the blind-minded[2] Pahár Singh, through his great pride and haughtiness, became the source of sedition and rebellion and raised the standard of rebellion against (us), (but) he was killed by Taluk Chand[3], the assistant to (my) dear and fortunate son (i.e. A'azam)'s minister, and entered hell[4] Thank God

1 Minister to Prince A'azam He was appointed governor of Burhanpur, in 1686 His name was changed into Amin Khan by Aurungzebe in whose court he was a noble. There were many men in Aurungzebe's court bearing this name Cf Let CLXVIII and XCIX

1 Cf Let XL

2 Another instance of Aurungzebe's fanaticism with regard to the Hindus. Cf Let II, LXV and CVIII

3 Deputy minister to A'azam, who killed with an arrow Pahar Singh Gurkeh who had rebelled near Ujjan 1686. For this service Taluk Chand was honoured with the title of Rai Ráyan and given a robe of honour by Aurungzebe. In Maasiri Alamgiri he is named Maluk Chand where the author says he was given the title of 'haft-sad'

4. As being an infidel Hindu—a further evidence of Aurungzebe's bigotry Cf. somewhat similar words in connection with Shivaji's death used by Khafi Khan—'Kafar bah jahnam raft' i.e. the infidel (Shivaji) went to hell.

under any circumstance (Couplet) "I sacrifice myself before Thee, O God, for Thy favour to me" Truly, the accomplishment of this affair is through your generous encouragement (to servants), because you make the state servants do government affairs by encouraging and patronising them. For this I congratulate you and send you a necklace[5] of pearls worth Rs. 50000[6] As this Hindu (i e Taluk Chand) has verified the proverb that 'the sparrow (i e Taluk Chand being a Bania or Marwari) has bravely killed the hawk (i.e. Pahar Singh being a Rajput) I exalt him by giving him a personal (not hereditary) title of 'Pán-Sadi[7]', a hundred cavaliers, a (Hindu) title of 'Rao',[8] a robe of honour, a sword and a horse You should also favour him, who has distinguished himself among his equals, by sending him a letter of encomium and praise and assigning him the independent governorship of a province, so that other servants may be induced to render good service in the expectation of a reward.

1704 LETTER XIX[1]

Exalted son, may God protect you To take away the

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5 The word for a necklace in the text is 'Mala', an Indian word, the Persian equivalent for which is 'har'

6 "The Rupee is round, and weighs eleven and one half 'Mashas' (12 Mashas being one tola) It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khan It was perfected during this (Akbar's) reign, and received a new stamp, on one side, 'Allahu Akbar, jalla jalalahu', and on the other the date Although the market price is sometimes more or less than forty 'dams', yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries" Ain-i-Akbari

Now at the present time one rupee is equal to sixteen 'annas' and fifteen rupees make one English pound

7 Cf. Let. IV

8 A Sanskrit word, meaning a 'king', something like 'Raja' Rao and Raja are etymologically the same but different in signification. Cf 'Rao Sahib', and 'Rao Bahadur

1. "Certain passages in Aurungzebe's letters to prince A'azam (i e this letter and letter XXXVII) when viceroy of Gujarat (1703-1705), shew how keen and shrewd an interest the aged monarch maintained in the government of his viceroys"

Gujarat Babi

'faujdárship'[2] of Sorath[3] from Fateh Jang Khán of the Báli[4] tribe and to give it to the superintendent of the palace[5] is like breaking a sound bottle with one's own hand (i.e. will spoil the matter). In the province of Gujarát, the Báli tribe have great respect and pride for the military profession. To give the 'foujdárship' of that province to others

Babi

Babi

2 "In the same way that His Majesty (i e Akbar), for the prosperity of the empire, has appointed a commander of the forces for each province, so by his rectitude of judgment and wise statesmanship he apportions several 'paraganahs' (districts) to the care of one of his trusty, just and distinguished servants, appreciative of what is equitable, and faithful to his engagements, and him they style by the above name (i e faujdar) As a subordinate and assistant he holds the first place. Should a cultivator or a collector of the crown lands, or an assignee of government estates prove rebellious, he should induce him to submit by fair words, and if this fail, he shall take the written evidence of the principal officers and proceed to chastise him When he has captured the rebel camp, he must observe equity in the division of the spoil and reserve a fifth for the royal exchequer He should constantly inspect the horses and accoutrements of the troops" Ain-i-Akbari

"His Majesty (Akbar) has appointed a superintendent over every troop of ten, twenty, and thirty elephants Such a troop is called a 'halquah', the superintendent is called 'faujdar' His business is to look after the condition and the training of the elephants" "Thus the 'faujdars' were more on the footing of feudatories than the 'jaghirdars'" Ain-i-Akbari.

3 A district in Kathiawar, under the rule of the Moguls It is also the name of the whole peninsula of Kathiawar itself which is situated on the west of Gujarat Sorath is the corrupted form of Sanskrit 'Saur-rashtra,' country of the Saurs. It was here in Dwarka that the celebrated Krishna of the Hindus died. Not the whole of Kathiawar but only a part of it belonged to the Moguls. Now the whole of Kathiawar is native Sorath was assigned as a personal estate to Prince A'azam 1684

4. Bali or Babi, a war-like Afghan tribe of Kathiawar, rose into great importance in the time of the Moguls, especially of Aurungzebe The well-known Safdar Khan belonged to this tribe

5 A title applied to a person, called 'vajir' (or vizier), who has in his charge the affairs of the palace in contradistinction to that applied to a person, called 'diván', who has in his charge the affairs of the country These titles are still in use in the native states of Kathiawar

6. In 1669 he was appointed faujdar of Muttra in place of Saf Shikan Khán For 'panj-hazarians', see Let XVI

save this tribe is far from wisdom. The 'Panj-Hazárians', like Hasan Ali Khán,[6] son of Ali Vardi Khán,[7] and Saf Shekan Khán[8] and others, had been appointed to the 'faujdárship' of Sorath in order to manage it It will be desirable if your superintendents follow the footsteps of the deceased Shujá' at Khán[9]. Otherwise as this is the province of Gujarat, may God forbid, there will be disorder and confusion[10] It will take a long time to restore peace and order there Other things depend upon your choice. (Couplet) "I wou't tell you not to do this and to do that, listen to advice which will render your work easy". May your end terminate in safety (*i.e.* All's well that ends well)

LETTER XX[1]

Exalted son, through the representations of the spies I have come to know that the royal road between Bahádūr pūr[2] and Khujasteh-buniad[3] is not free from danger. Highwaymen rob the merchants[4] and travellers of their goods. Wayfares cannot travel in security When such robbery takes place near the quarters of your and my armies (at Ahmedábád and Būrhánpūr), woe to the condition of distant roads ! It seems that the reporters[5] do not

7 *I* Aman Allah, who was appointed faujdar of the vicinity of Akbarabad in 1669

8. His original name was Shuja' at Khan who received the title of Saf Shekan Khan in 1685 In 1687 he was appointed superintendent of artillery. In the same year he was imprisoned for quarrelling with Firūz Jang, during the siege of Haiderábad But after a time he was released

9. Cf Let CXVII He died in 1703 at Ahmedabad.

10. Here Aurungzebe exhibits a mistaken notion about the people of Gujarat who are generally milder and less turbulent than those of the other parts of India.

1. This letter is a further testimony of Aurungzebe's anxiety for the welfare of his subjects Cf. Let VII His chief aim seems to have been to maintain order and peace among them and to suppress robbery and sedition.

2 A rich town near Būrhanpur, in Khandesh, plundered by Sambhaji (1681) There is another small town of the same name near Benares, in the

furnish you with true accounts. Carelessness and indifference are contrary to the way of kingship and sovereignty. (Now) you should appoint new reporters and give them warning and punish the former ones Prepare an army to extirpate these ruffians and to free the royal road from the machinations of these loafers. How long will you allow this shameful mismanagement to go on? (Couplet) "I don't ask you either to suffer a loss or to gain an advantage. O You! who are losing an opportunity, whatever you want to do, do it soon (*i.e.* don't lose the opportunity of doing a thing)." May you be happy.

LETTER XXI.

Dear and glorious son, a white water pot, of Chinese make and of good material, which is now very rare, and a 'kachakrá'[1] chair, were presented to me I have sent these two things to (you), my dear son You should thank me for these two rarities, and, in return for these, send me a

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United Provinces, where Shuja was defeated by Raja Jai Singh who was sent by Dara against him, in 1659 There is a third town of the same name in Gujarat near Baroda.

3. *I e* Aurungabad, a town in H H the Nizam's dominion, founded in 1610 by Malik Ambar of the Deccan Its original name was Khirkee When for the second time Aurungzebe was viceroy of the Deccan he called it Aurungabad (Aurungzebe's City) after his own name and made it the seat of his government 1650 It lit means '(of) a happy foundation'

4. The word for merchants in the Persian text is 'beparian', an Indian term, a Pers. equivalent for which is 'saudagaran'

5. "His Majesty (*i e* Akbar) has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight. Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of H M and whatever the heads of the departments report.' Ain-i-Akbari From several places in the 'Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri', we see that the Bakhshis of the Sūbahs often held the post of 'vakeh navis' (recorder or reporter) at the same time Cf Let XXVII

1. An Indian word for a substance made of the shell of a tortoise.

2 Cf Let IX

basket full of mangoes,[2] without minding what has already happened

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LETTER XXII.

Exalted son, I remember that one day I paid a visit to Miyán Abdūl Latif[1]—may his tomb be sanctified. During the conversation, I said, "If you permit me I will fix (the income of) some villages of the Kaharkūn[2] district for (defraying) the expenses of the monastery". He recited, with his holy tongue, these two hemestichs "I am placed under an obligation when the king grants me villages, but I am not under an obligation when God gives me food" I replied, "It is so, but I join the service of the mendicants and pious men, for the good and welfare of this world, for my own happiness, and for the fulfilment of (my) prayer for the increase of happiness and fortune, and not for putting them under any obligation" The Miyán said, "Truly, the intention of the mind is good, if it is from the very bottom of the heart Receive only half of the revenue which you now obtain from your subjects (peasants) and take less than even half from the hard-working and helpless peasants. Fix monthly allowances on the mendicants, who put faith in God, who do not beg, and live in deserts. Administer justice (carefully) to the oppressed in such a way that no one will be deprived of his right Don't allow the weak to be oppressed by the tyrants. (Then) you will

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1. Sheikh Abdul Latif, a Mohemadan saint of Burhanpur, who lived in the time of Aurungzebe He was a contemporary of Sheikh Būrhan, the founder of Burhanpur Aurungzebe had great faith in him He was a strict follower of Islam and did not like music like the emperor Sheikh Burhan was very proud of him and used to say that he thanked God that his contemporary was so pious and religious 'Miyan' is a Hindustani title of respect generally applied to the Mohemadans Cf Let CLXXIX and XCII

2. *I e.* Kahargaon, *i e* Bijagarh, a town and district between the Narbudda and the Tapti, about 60 miles N. W. of Burhanpur

see increase in your happiness". Immediately these words of the Miyán reminded me of the complaints of the inhabitants of Chakleh Kūrá,[4] and so involuntarily I wrote this letter to you. May you be happy.

1704 LETTER XXIII.[1]

Exalted son, the artillery and palace superintendent[2] has been appointed (by you) the police officer of Naváh[3] of Ahmedábád[4] He appoints his vulture-like (*i e* bribe-receiving) relatives and friends to 'patelships'[5] The complainants against the power of the above-mentioned superintendent do not get admittance into your court Robbers and vaga-

3 Aurungzebe seems to have approved of and acted according to the advice given by the Miyan.

4 Cf Let. XIV

1 This letter is a further evidence of Aurungzebe's sense of justice towards his subjects and his care for their welfare "On another day of the week he (Aurungzebe) devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons, selected from the lower orders, and presented to the king by a good and rich old man Nor does he fail to attend the justice chamber, called 'adalat khaneh', on another day of the week, attended by the two principal cadis, or chief justices. It is evident, therefore, that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects" Bernier.

"He (Aurungzebe) appears two or three times everyday in his court of audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without any hindrance, and as he listens them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality" (Mir-At-i-Alam)

Khafi Khan says that Aurungzebe was a very just king

2. *I e*. Aman Allah Beg. Cf Let XXXVII

3. Possibly it might be Navanagar, a town in Kathiawar, annexed to Gujarat by Kūtbūdin, viceroy of Gujarat, and named Islamabad, 1664.

4. A district and large town in Gujarat This city stands on the Sabarmati and was founded in 1410 by Ahmed Shah I of Gujarat. It was the capital of the Mohemadan kings of Gujarat Afterwards it became the seat of the Mogul governors of Gujarat. Now it is a centre of many industries, esp., cotton

bonds have become the companions of his son-in-law who afflict God's people (our subjects). I wonder what answer we shall give on the day of judgment[6] The Holy and High God is just If we appoint a tyrant (to a post), every act of oppression perpetrated by the oppressor appointed by us is just It is we who allow oppression by giving power to tyrants and withholding justice from the oppressed (Couplet) "Wheat grows from wheat, and barley, from barley, don't be indifferent about the reward of (your) action (*i.e.* as you sow, so shall you reap)"

LETTER XXIV.

Exalted son, how long will the old lady like Záhedeh Bánú[1] remain in a miserable plight? She has a claim on you and me. Her grandsons suffered punishment for their actions Her rights should not be disregarded You will remember how one day when the elephant of

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"The latter (i e Ahmedabad) is a noble city in a high state of prosperity For the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe it is almost unrivalled. It has two forts. The city contains 1000 stone mosques, each having two minarets and rare inscriptions" Ain-i-Akbari

The Mohemadan historians especially of Gujarat, call it 'The Ornament of Cities'.

5 Headships of villages. The word in the text is 'thanejat', an Indian word with the Persian plural 'Thana' or 'thaneh' literally means a garrison, but it also means the 'military post at which the inferior revenue officers are stationed to protect the country, and the police, and collect the revenue, whether the station be a fort or an open village'

6. Here Aurungzebe reveals himself as a God-fearing and religious man. Cf Let XXVIII Aurungzebe was a Puritan in religious views and may be compared with Cromwell, his English contemporary. He was a devout Mohemadan, a strict Sunni, and a true Muslim. Except the performance of the pilgrimage he practised strictly all the religious tenets and beliefs.

1 A foster mother of A'azam Cf Let CLXXIX.

2. He took part in the siege of Bijapur by Raja Jai Singh 1666

Fateh Jang Khán[2] made an attack upon you, Mir Badhú[3] displayed bravery like Rustam[4]. He restrained the elephant from fury. (But) he did not accept a robe of honour granted by me (and said), "I have done my duty as a man born in this house, and why should I accept wages (i e the robe of honour) for this ?" For the sake of God and for my sake, eradicate the old (feeling of) revenge from (your) heart Favour this old lady who has no kind man except you to shew kindness (to her) (Couplet) "Increase your kindness to the old members of your family, because those favoured by you will never prove faithless"

LETTER XXV.

Exalted son, the letter of A'atimad Khan[1] is not a revelation that it should be acted upon per force. After the necessary inquiry an order will be issued

LETTER XXVI.

Exalted son, one day Sa'ad Alláh Khan[1] came late in His Majesty (Sháh Jehán)'s presence H M. asked the cause. He replied, "I was reading some passages from a book and copying them down in order to shew them to Your Majesty (They are here, as follow) 'The stability of the foundation of sovereignty depends upon justice. A kingdom and property increase through bravery and cha-

3 A son of Zahedeh Banu Cf Let XLV This event (1584) is mentioned by the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* But he does not mention the name of Mir Badhu who saved the life of A'azam

4. A famous hero of ancient Persia, well known for his extraordinary strength He performed seven exploits in one of which he fought with the White Demon and killed him Unknowingly he fought with his own son Sohrab and killed him He was a son of Zal Rakhsh was his favourite charger who died with his master His fight with the Persian Asfandiar is well known He may be compared with the Greek Hercules and the Indian Bhim. Rustam literally means, in Persian, 'I escaped (from the throes)', words uttered by Rādabeh, Rustom's mother, immediately she gave birth to her son and was relieved from the pains of childbirth

1. Superintendent (Mutsadi) of the port of Surat, entitled Mūlla *Tahir* He was a friend and companion of Shuja at Khan-i-Isphani of Ahmedabad He was much respected by Aurungzebe who made him a 'do-hazari.' In

rity.[2] You should keep company with the wise and the learned and avoid the company of fools It is a sign of wisdom to act according to one's conviction and to remain firm in the midst of hardships. You should not be deficient in worldly affairs (or duties) and should be pleased with your contrivance One should thank God for the destiny of the permanency of his family Shew mercy to the orphans If you desire that you should never be in need, fulfil the desires of the needy The execution of state affairs depends upon the advice and counsel of ministers. Conquest and victory depend upon the blessings of the mendicants If you want to have sound health, pray (to God) for the remedying of the diseases of the sick. If you wish to have forgiveness for your crimes from God, first pardon the crimes of other criminals' " His Majesty was was much pleased and kissed the forehead of the deceased Khán At the end of the day (i e in evening) he presented the above-mentioned Khán some Mahmúdi[3] bundles, embroidered in gold and of one colour I thought that I should not enjoy the benefit of these maxims alone, consequently I wrote these things for my dear son. May the grace of God be with your actions in order to enable you to follow these instructions

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1695 he was ordered by Aurungzebe to join Saiyad Yakut Khan of Janjira and to attack and capture Bombay, a fort of the English who had plundered the royal ship 'Ganj Sivai' near Surat But meanwhile the English made humiliating terms with the emperor and thus Bombay was saved. Afterwards the Khan was made 'divan' (minister) of Ahmedabad He had a brother named Aka Mahammad Zeman who quarrelled with him and never saw the face of his brother A'atimad Khan till his death He died in 1698; and his son Muhammad Mùhsin was made minister (of Ahmedabad). His original name was Amanat Khan and he was honoured with the title of A'atimad Khan in 1690 C f Let XLII

1. C f. Let XV, XXXIV and CLIV.

2. It is a general belief that God increases one's wealth as one gives away more and more of it in charity

3. A kind of cloth introduced by Mahmud of Ghazni The word for a bundle in the text is 'than', an Indian word, its Persian equivalent being 'takeh'.

LETTER XXVII

Happy son, Mahammad A'azam, may God protect and save you It seems that the son of the superintendent of your palace gambles in the drummery.[1] Alas! alas! notwithstanding your claim to sovereignty (after my death) you shew so much indifference and carelessness.[2] Why do the reporters[3] not supply you with information? They must be screening their friend (the son of the superintendent). Appoint new reporters and warn them against this

LETTER XXVIII[1]

Exalted son, it seems that you passed one month in shooting cranes near the river Tal.[2] Though hunting[3] is

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1 The word in the text is 'Nakar khaneh', an Indian term. It is the place where a drum is beaten five times a day Cf Let XII n. 8 "Formerly the band played four 'gharis' (chogadias) before the commencement of the night, and likewise four 'gharis' before daybreak, now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn" Ain-i-Akbari.

2. Here Aurungzebe seems to consider A'azam his successor though he was his third son He loved him more than his other sons, and therefore he seems to entertain this desire Cf Let. XLI and LXVII.

3. The word for reporters in the text is 'harkarha', an Indian word It originally means men employed by merchants for supplying them with information, then, it came to mean spies Here it is used for reporters. "Aurungzebe appointed official reporters who informed him of all that went on in the most distant as well as the nearest districts and who were a check upon the local officials" "It is true that the Great Mogul sends 'Vakea Navis' to the various provinces; that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people" Bernier Cf Let XX

1. From this it seems that A'azam was of an idle nature and did not pay much attention to state affairs Cf Let. XII & CVI. This further proves that Aurungzebe was always busy and liked to manage all government affairs himself (through distrust?)

2. Tal or Tali, a river in Khandesh and in Berar.

3. Cf. Let XII

an occupation which gives pleasure and delicious food, yet it is more pleasant when indulged in after being disengaged from the execution of important affairs, to do which is your bounden duty, chiefly (after being disengaged from) performing the rights of sovereignty, which, according to religion and custom, should be done properly. The responsibilities of these (rights of sovereignty) are enjoined by reliable traditions, well-known histories and other works. They should be given priority to all other duties. If you are convinced of the execution of the affairs of one district, why don't you engage yourself in the management of the affairs of Khán Jehan, A'akel Khan, Shuja'at Khan, and Muhammad Beg?[4] You (like) the pleasure of game while I enjoy myself in conquering fortresses and subduing rebels. Alas! what will be your position in this life and in the life after? (Couplet) "There are many who advise others, in this world; but there are very few who advise themselves." Life passes away in vain and we can do nothing. What answer shall we give to God after death?[5] (Verse) "O God! have mercy upon our condition."

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4 This shows that Aurungzebe used to interfere in the affairs of his officers and subordinates through suspicion and distrust.

Khan Jehan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash, a foster-brother of Aurungzebe and a great nobleman in the imperial court, his original name being Mir Malik Husain. In 1672 he was sent to the Deccan as governor. He began to rebuild the fortress of Surat against Shivaji. He was sent against Abul Hasan, last king of Golconda. In 1674 Aurungzebe raised him from the rank of 700 horse to that of 7000 and conferred upon him the title of Khan Jehan Bahadur Zafar Jang. In 1691 he was appointed governor of Allahabad. In the same year he was made governor of the Punjab. He died in 1697. Aurungzebe was greatly offended with him for his inactivity and failure in war. He took part in the Deccan War. He seems to be the author of 'Tarikh-i-Assam' (History of Assam). 'He did not like much talking.' He often received bribes from the Mahrattas. Cf. Let. XCII, CXXVII and CXXXIV. For A'akel Khan, Cf. Let. CLXVII, for Shuja'at Khan, Cf. Let. CXVII, and for Muhammad Beg, Cf. Let. XXVII.

5. Cf. Let. XXIII

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LETTER XXIX.

Exalted son, though the young son (A'azam) does not love the old father, the old father loves the young son. (Verse) "Come, and remove the mountain of grief (i e, excessive grief) from our hearts"

LETTER XXX.

Exalted son, Muhammad Anwar the merchant has no ability to manage the affairs of the sea-ports of Aslá. From this it appears that notwithstanding (your) perfect wisdom, sagacity, and deep consideration, you have appointed a thief to keep watch (which is absurd) You should not issue such a foolish order in future

1704 LETTER XXXI.

Exalted son, the town of Dūhad,[1] situated in a district of Gujarát, is the birthplace of this sinner, full of sins (i e, Aurungzebe himself). You should learn to shew proper kindness to the inhabitants of this town.[2] You should shew favour to Pir Mankhá,[3] who has been the police officer of this town for a long time, and should keep him in his own post. For Pir Mankhá's sake, you should not listen to the slander of the selfish, for whom it may be said that 'in their heart there is a disease (of hypocrisy) which God increases'[4] (Verse) "A king must possess one general eye for shewing favour to the weak, and one special eye for shewing favour to some favourites (i e, a king should shew his kindness and favour, generally to the weak and especially to his favourites)."

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1. Or Dahod, a town in Gujarat, between Baroda and Ujjain, on the borders of Gujarat and Malva, birthplace of Aurungzebe Cf Let. LVIII Aurungzebe was born here (1618) when Shah Jehan, his father, was governor of the Deccan, in the time of Jehangir The date of his birth may be found from the Persian phrase 'Aftab-i-Alamtab' (the world-shining sun), i e. 1028 A H., i e 1618 A D

2. Here Aurungzebe seems to shew his narrow-mindedness.

3. Cf. Let LVIII

4. A passage in the Koran about hypocrisy.

1704. LETTER XXXII

Exalted son, Muhammad Beg,[1] your servant, deserted and went over to the misled and miserable enemy. It is said about him that he has been descended from the tribe of Mū'atemad Khan,[2] the minister of the Deccan. He (Muhammad Beg) was your minister and private secretary. Undoubtedly the new servants bore malice and spite against the old one (*i e*, Muhammad Beg). You should recall this deserter and send him to me The bad property should be attached to the beard of its master (*i e*, Muhammad Beg should be surrendered to me) Otherwise you should write (to me) that after being informed of his condition, he may be called.

1704 LETTER XXXIII

Exalted son, the bones of Shūjá'at Khán Muhammad Beg[1] are not yet rotten (*i e*, he died only a short while ago) The rights of Shūja'at Khán's service should not be overlooked He has two survivors, two sons-in-law and one adopted son[2] Why have you dismissed these heirs of Shūjá'at Khán for (their) slight offence, the truth or untruth of which is known to God (alone)? To dismiss a Mohema-

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1 Muhammad Beg Khan of Ahmedabad, a general of Aurungzebe. He led the royal army at Ahmedabad against the Mahrattas near the Narbada. 1703. The Kolis of Gujarat assisted him in this enterprise The Mahrattas were defeated and fled away. Afterwards the imperial army was surprised by the Mahrattas and many were killed In 1695 he was superintendent of Surat In 1698 he was governor of Sorath

2. In 1670 he was appointed fortress-keeper of Ahmedabad. In 16 he died at Gwalior. There was another man, called Deev Afghan, son Dianat Khan, who was also honoured with this title of Mu'atemad Khan in 1681 and was made in the same year superintendent of the branding department. He died in 1691

1. Cf. Let CXVII

2 Cf Let. XXXVIII and CXXVIII

dan for the sake of a Hindu is an unreasonable act [3]

LETTER XXXIV

Exalted son, Mandeswar, the greatest district of the province of Málvá, has been granted to you as a 'jághir.' [1] In former times Sar Būland Khán,[2] Hasan Ali Khán,[3] and a great officer like Navázesh Khán-i-Rūmi, had been appointed police officers of this district. This light of my eyes (i e., my dear son) should send there an intelligent, honest, and brave officer One day it was said in the presence of His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) that the splendour of the house, the increase of property, and the prosperity of the 'jághir' districts, of Sa'ad Alláh Khán [4] depended upon (the management of) Abdūl Nabi, his secretary, and that the Khán himself spent his time zealously in the (discharge of) state affairs Once, His Majesty, by way of suggestion, told him, "I have heard that you possess the philosopher's

3 This shews Aurungzebe's partiality for his co-religionists and antipathy to the Hindus, and further proves that he was not of a catholic mind Aurungzebe removed capable Hindu officials, unlike Akbar, from the state service and replaced inferior Muslims in their places. Khafi Khan states in his history that Aurungzebe, in 1672, issued orders to various governors of the empire to the effect that the Hindus should be dismissed from government service and be replaced by the Mohemadans; but the order was not properly carried into effect

1. "The king, as proprietor of the land, makes over a certain quantity to military men, as an equivalent for their pay, and this grant is called 'jaghir', or, as in Turkey, 'timár', the word 'jaghir', signifying the spot from which *to draw*, or the place of salary Similar grants are made to governors, in lieu of their salary, and also for the support of their troops, on condition that they pay a certain sum annually to the king out of any surplus revenue that the land may yield" Bernier

2 He was appointed governor of Akbarabad in 1673. Afterwards he was made Mir Bakhashi. In 1678 he was entitled Safi Khan. He died in 1680 Aurungzebe was very sorry to lose the services of such an honest and sincere officer

3 Saiyad Hasan Ali Khán, son of Saiyad Abdūllá Khán Barah. He was 'faujdar' of Hoshangábád and of Nadarbar. In 1681 he was honoured with the title of Bahadūr Alamgir Sháhi for displaying bravery during the war with the Ráná of Udepūr. Then he was sent to Mandeswar He died in 1687. He was very brave, honest and sincere

4 Cf Let XV

stone (I hope) you will present it to me" He replied, "I possess one (*i.e.*, Abdūl Nabi) in the form of a man and which has the quality of producing gold." His Majesty thanked God and spoke sweetly, "I praise you for this quality of yours (and) give away his services to you. An intelligent, honest, God-fearing, and well-behaving man is rare (Couplet) Human beings are found everywhere in this world, but their essence (*i.e.*, honesty) is found rarely.'"[5] The above-mentioned Khán bowed down to His Majesty.

LETTER XXXV.

Exalted son, I have come to know about the occupation and action of the manager of the district of your 'jághir' from the letter sent by the reporter Why are you careless about the day of judgment?[1] (Verse) "Alas! alas! justice from the hand of negligence"

1704. LETTER XXXVI.

Exalted son, I knew you to be (a man) of great sense and of good disposition in everything. (Verse) "May God protect your handsome face from an evil eye." It is strange that you have dismissed Muhammad Beg Khán [1] and given the 'faujdárship'[2] of Sorath [3] to Sheer Andáz Khán. The results of personal and able affairs of mankind are clear. (Verse) "The outward appearance of a man is a mirror for his heart (*i.e.*, the character of a man can be judged from his outward appearance)." Here in Sorath Kūtbūdín,[4] the

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5. Cf. Let XV
1. Cf. Let. XXIII
1. Cf Let. XXVII
2. Cf. Let XIX
3. Cf. Let. XIX
4. Kūtbūdín Kheshgi was appointed governor of Sorath in 1659. In

noble 'Panj-Hazari,' had been appointed. I won't take any objection if you appoint Saiyad Kamál [5] and Saiyad Múrád, who are honoured and respected, in this province, to some extent. Under any circumstance, the 'faujdarship' of the above province, together with districts connected with this province, are given to you in 'jaghir.' You should appoint over them a faithful servant whom you consider worthy (of the post). If Aman Allah Beg [6] and Bahadur Beg Shervani can induce themselves to be away from you, apparently you will entrust them with the 'faujdári' Honesty and ability play the greatest part in the management of political and financial affairs. The unfit and selfish are many, while the worthy and true are very few. His Majesty, having his abode in heaven (*i.e.*, Akbar, Aurungzebe's great grandfather), had (many) faithful servants. He entrusted them with (the work of gaining) successive victories and (of performing) many affairs And in the time of His Majesty (Shah Jehan) there came forward many brave and faithful servants, well-behaving officers, and able secretaries Notwithstanding so many faithful servants, His Majesty, with his holy personality, looked after the transaction of (state) affairs very carefully. I remember that when His Majesty sent Múrád Bakhsha [7] to Balkh in order to conquer the provinces of our ancestors, an army registrar was wanted. Twenty persons, employed or unemployed (in the state), applied for this post. Now

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1662 he was temporarily appointed viceroy of Gujarat. In 1664 he annexed Navanagar to Gujarat and named it Islámnagar.

5. The son of Saiyad Kamil; he was made the fort-keeper of Sadra (in Gujarat) in 1674.

6. Cf. Let XXIII and XXXVII.

7 Cf Let 1

8. It is strange that Aurungzebe cannot find a single true, honest or able man in his service Perhaps it is owing to his suspicious and distrustful nature. Cf. Let XV and XXVIII. Though Aurungzebe complained of the

I want a true and able man for the ministership of Bengal, but I find none.[8] Alas! alas! for the rarity of useful men.

1701 LETTER XXXVII

Exalted son, notwithstanding your good intention, why are you indifferent to the actions (i e, tyranny) of oppressors and to the infliction of punishment on those misled people (tyrants)? Everyday in the districts of Hájipūr,[1] Miyánpūr,[2] and other police stations, strife and quarrel, oppression and tyranny, take place The Kolis[3] plunder (the town of) Mairganj,[4] situated close to the (quarters of the royal) army They bind the inhabitants of the town and the poor travellers and carry them away. You have appointed Amán Allah Beg[5], the superintendent of the artillery and of the palace, the police officer of Naváh[6]. He gave 'patelships'[7] to his dishonest and corrupt relatives The oppressed cannot complain to you against his power. Alas! alas! Time passes away like a sword (i e, swiftly), and the reproach of the people of the world and the fear of the Glorious and High God are removed from the heart The 'faujdárship' should be

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scarcity of honest men in his court there were many honest men already serving under him, such as, Fazel Khan, Amánat Khan, Mirza Yar Ali Muhammad Yar Khan, Shūja'at Khan, and others.

1 A district in Gujarat

2 Another district in Gujarat

3 A low class aboriginal tribe of Gujarat The Coolis or Kolis are "the greatest robbers and altogether the most unprincipled people in Hindostan" (Bernier) But they are not so now. It was to a man belonging to this tribe, named Kanji Koli of Kadi, that Dara fled and from whom he sought protection. 1659.

4 A town in Gujarat

5. Cf Let. XXIII and XXXVI

6. Cf. Let. XXIII

7. Cf Let. XXIII

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given to one of the Gujarátis, either to Safdar Khán-i-Sáni[8] or to the sons of Bahlol Shervání[9], who, in the time of Shújá'at Khán, had acquired a good name and who communicate with the inhabitants of the town (of Naváh). I say plainly that on the day of judgment we shall have to give an account of our actions before God for shewing favour to and connivance at (the actions of corrupt officers).[10] You should send to the province reliable and cautious reporters, and send me daily reports of the results of the orders (issued by you), and should engage yourself in repairing the time (Verse) "When on the day of judgment there will be an inquiry about my crimes, the records of the crimes of all the people of the world will be torn to pieces (i e, the crimes of all people are insignificant in comparison to mine and therefore they will be forgiven by God on the day of judgment, but I will not be forgiven)."[11]

1696. LETTER XXXVIII.

Exalted son, Kázi Abdúllá[1] joined God's mercy (i.e., died). He used to please me and (my) subjects during his

8. Or Safdar Khan-i-Bali, was appointed governor of Pátan (in Gujarat) in 1697 He was displeased with Shuja'at Khan, governor of Ahmedabad, and returned to Malwa He offered Prince A'azam to slay or capture alive Dürgadas the Rajput, but he failed in this attempt. 1703. In 1704 he was made governor of Bijapur He was defeated and made prisoner by the Mahrattas near the Nerbadda (in the battle of Ratanpür, 1705). Again he offered to kill or capture Durgadas. This time most probably he killed the Rajput 1706 He was very brave

9. Muhammad Bahlol Khan Shervani He was sent against the Rajput chief of Idar, who had revolted against Aurangzebe He defeated the chief who fled to a cave where he died from want of his usual dose of opium. 1679. Bahlol Khan was much praised and was appointed to the charge of Idar Afterwards he was made governor of Baroda where he died in 1696 and was succeeded by Muhammad Beg Khan

10. Cf. Let XXIII and XXXV

11. Cf Let VII and XLIV

1. Sheikh-ul-Islam, the eldest son of Kazi Abdul Wahab who was the author of a 'Dastür-ul-Amal' which he dedicated to Aurangzebe. He was

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tenure of 'káziship' I do not know about the condition of his sons. Abdūl Majeed Khán, his eldest son, was, for a time, your 'kázi rikáb'[2] Write to me if he possesses the qualifications of learning, unselfishness, and goodness. There is no more important work than 'káziship', because the people of God (whose dignity is great) are imprisoned or sentenced to death by the decision of a 'kázi' Kázi Sheikh-ūl-Islám was helped, as it was necessary, by the divine grace in doing good, to inquire into and distinguish between right and wrong A good man is very rare, and a rare thing is non-existent, (therefore, logically, a good man is non-existent, i. e., there is no good man in the world).

LETTER XXXIX

Exalted son, I have heard (that) the superintendent, appointed by you before my final decision, is cautious. (But) here (in the court), Siávash Khán Sháh Mir is partial notwithstanding his high post and an adequate 'jághir'. Honesty is an essential qualification in a servant Write to me whether Asad-ūd-Din, the son of Diláver Khán, who is near you, possesses this quality (of honesty), in addition to intelligence, if so, I will summon him into my presence,

a native of Ahmedabad After the death of his father (1674) he was appointed by Aurungzebe Sheikh-ul-Islam (the chief cadi) He gave away all the property of his deceased father to his three younger brothers and to the needy and the poor In 1687 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and returned from there in 1694 when he was well received by the emperor in the Deccan After a short time he went to Ahmedabad to pay a visit to the tombs of the holy saints there and to see his family Then he started for the Deccan to see the emperor again, but died on his way 1696 Aurungzebe was very sorry to hear of his death Khafi Khan says that in the whole Mogul Empire there was not a single cadi so devoted, pious and honest as this man. He did not receive any bribe when he held the post of 'kaziship'

2 A judge who in the time of the Moguls followed a king or a prince when he went on an expedition or on hunting It literally means 'the kazi who follows the *stirrup* of a king or of a prince'

Note Aurungzebe's anxiety for the interests of the sons of his deceased officers Cf Let XXXIII and CXXVIII

and appoint him to the post I, with a wounded heart, insensible, and needy, always seek for honest human beings. These honest people fall under the category of the phœnix[1] (*i.e.*, like the phœnix, they are known by their names only, but never seen in the world, *i.e.*, honest people are not to be found in this world).[2] A philosopher was asked "What's the medicine for the disease of selfishness?" He replied, "Selfishness is an innate quality, which gives a polish to the deep and careful attention of the master, so that the servant may not remain needy in any way and his essence (*i.e.*, honesty) may be bright and shining under any circumstance and its purity may not be destroyed by the rust of need.

LETTFR XL.

Exalted son, robbers are practising their profession often from Chamárkündeh to Kádirábád[1] Very few travellers traverse the road in safety. Most probably there must be some cause for this A word to the wise is sufficient. You receive news soon whether from a distance or from near For the bad plight, why don't you think of the day of judgment? Attention with regard to the end of our life must be paid just now It is just to favour a good servant for his distinction (in service) and to punish a bad one for his bad action. As you sow, so shall you reap I am anxiously waiting for your reply A tyrant asked for blessings for himself from a holy man. He replied, "Regarding the oppressors themselves they have no effect of blessings but giving justice to the oppressed (*i.e.*, the only way for tyrants to enjoy the effect of blessings is to cease oppressing the people)"

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1. A fabulous bird, known by this name but never found in the world The Persian word for it, 'ünká', is derived from Ar 'ünk', the neck, because it is supposed to have a tall neck. Cf. Shakespeare's 'Arabian bird.'

2. Cf. Let. XV, XXVIII and XXXVI

1. Two towns in the Deccan, near Ahmadnagar

LETTER XLI.

Exalted and dear son, I was pleased with some passages in the diary of His Majesty (i e., Sháh Jehán). For my love to you, I have written them involuntarily to my dear son, so that I myself do not enjoy their benefit alone (The passages are as follow). 'Some actions are the best: not to countenance a bad man, not to disappoint a man by the non-fulfilment of his desire, not to afflict a man of a good temperament, not to beg notwithstanding extreme need, to keep company with the pious, to search for the worthy and the able, to avoid the company of fools, to give the deserving, as much as you can, before they ask for it; to honour the learned, to spend one's time in justice (or in work), not to pay attention to the doctrines of the sacrilegious, not to be unconscious of the condition of the faithful agents, to derive benefit from the company of the holy who are strangers in this world; to encourage those who do good for the affairs of this and the next world'.

In this age also there are many good men, but where are those who search for such good men and encourage them by their favour?[1] Evidently, the succeeding generation will be worse. (Verse) "I am anxious about the condition of the times, because, may God forbid, there will be worse times than this". You, who have an intention of (succeeding to) sovereignty (after me),[2] should desire, search for, employ, and favour (such good men)

LETTER XLII.

Exalted son, I liked very much 'Gulshan-rawán', the fat horse you have sent me for riding. He has a graceful gait, a mane, a fine form and all the equestrian qualities. You are much pleased with often riding on 'Nilúfar' and

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1. Cf. Let XXXIX where Aurangzebe complains about the scarcity of good and honest men

2. Cf. Let XXVII

'Chawá-chandan' (two horses). I send you a Turkey horse, called 'Khush-kharám' and 'Sabá-raftá' (another horse), presented to me by Amánat Khán[1], and trained under the supervision of Alláh Yár Khán. But the miser head groom sheds tears (and says) "Why does Your Majesty give away (such) fine horses"? Notwithstanding, I will send them to you.

1700. LETTER XLIII.

Exalted son, you must have learnt, from the letter of the agent and the reports of the spies, the details of hardships in the invasion of the Ghauts.[1] The Mohemadans and the army had to undergo worse conditions and unbearable toils. God be thanked that the calamities of this invasion came entirely to an end and were compensated for by victory and success. Though such hardships are said to be caused by the sins of mankind, yet the action of the governor has a great effect upon the good and evil of people The action of the governor suggests misery or misfortune on this poor and useless person (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe himself). The fortress of Sattárá[2] is now called (by me) A'azam-tárá (and given to you). You should issue an order that the drum of victory will be beaten in your own name.

1. Alias Saiyad Ahamad, was honoured with the title of 'Khán' in 1670 and appointed minister of Bengal In 1676 he was made fort-keeper of Lahore. Afterwards he became superintendent of Surat He died in 1698. Cf. Let. XXV

1. An Indian word for mountains Cf the Eastern Ghauts and the Western Ghauts of the Deccan "The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea coast, and always in sight of it from Cape Comorin to Daman, is called the Ghauts, an Indian word which signifies 'passages'". 'Ghaut' lit. means 'a break' It is sometimes applied to 'a ford' Here in the text the Western Ghauts or the Syhádree Mountains are meant.

2. A town and fort in the Konkan, taken by Aurungzebe in 1700 and named A'azam-tara (lit. the greatest star) after his son A'azam. It was Aurungzebe's whim to change the Hindu names of towns and cities into

You may remember the words uttered by you in your childhood, "Bábáji, dhūn, dhūn".[3] The fortress of Barnálá[4] is now called (by me) Naval-tárá. Ask for the details of my expedition from your slave-girls.

1704. LETTER XLIV.[1]

Exalted son, you have seen the dervish, Mir Arab, in Ahmedábád. Of course, you should again go to him and present him compliments from me who am ashamed of departing for the next world and who desire the pleasures of this world. You should request him to pray for our happiness and for the safety of our religion. Tell him that I am approaching death and have been far from good actions. (Tell him further that) the life of this negligent

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Mohemadan ones through his fanaticism Cf Let XI Sattara literally means a good or bright star. At first, Sattara belonged to Bijapur, but was afterwards taken by Shivaji 1673 It was the capital of the Mahratta Empire for a long time before Poona. Sattara was besieged in 1699 by Tarbiat Khan, Ruh Allah Khan the Second and Fateh Allah Khan It was defended by Pryagji Purvoe. After a long and continued siege it fell before the imperial army. 1700 Khafi Khan gives a long and detailed account of the siege A poet speaks of Sattara as "Bala-i-sarash zeh arzmandi, Tábandeh sitareh bulandi" (i e the height of its top, through exquisiteness,—resembles—the exalted bright star). It was a strong and important fortress. 'It was the depository and refuge of much opulence and treasure.' It was a state prison of the Adil Shahi dynasty Afterwards it became the state prison of the Mahrattas

3. A Hindustani phrase for 'Papa, (the drum produces the sound) dhun, dhun' 'Dhun' is an onomatopoetic word repeated twice It is the sound produced by a drum while being beaten

4. Parnala, a town and fort in the Deccan, near Kolapur. Formerly it belonged to Bijapur, but was afterwards taken by Shivaji by a stratagem. 1659. Here Rustam Khan, a Bijapuri general, was defeated by Shivaji in 1660. It was taken by A'azam, but was again captured by the Mahrattas. 1693 Afterwards it was retaken by the Moguls in 1699. Cf Let CXI Khafi Khan says that it was named by Aurungzebe 'Bani (or Nabi) Shah Darag'

1. Here Aurungzebe repents of the sins and crimes perpetrated by him during his youth. Cf Let. VII.

person (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe) has been passed in vain and the remaining portion of it will also be passed without any fruit; (and that) death approaches while salvation recedes. (Verse) "Whatever I have done, even a blind man cannot do, I have lost God in this world (*i.e.*, I did not remember God in this world)."

LETTER XLV

Exalted son, the misbehaviour and impudent conduct of Mir Badhū,[1] (your) foster brother (towards you), have been fully laid bare to me by the reports of your expedition. The (following) couplet of 'the Spiritual Leader'[2] applies to his case (Couplet) "The favours of God treat you mildly, but if you go beyond (the mild treatment) you are disgraced (or punished by Him)".[3] You thought it necessary to reproach and to disgrace him, because he boasts of the claims of his old mother.[4] (But) he does not know the (following) words of Sa'adi.[5] (Couplet) "Don't put the king, whom you serve, under any obligation, know that it is you who are obliged by the king by his giving service to you." Any how the Obliging King (*i.e.*, God) has endowed men with wisdom and (other) good qualities. It is better if you follow my advice and forgive him this fault, because, (verse) 'Criminals are worthy of favour'

1 Cf. Let XXIV.

2. An epithet of Maulana Jalal-ud Din Roumi, a great Sufi poet of Persia, chiefly known for 'Masnavi' writing. He was born at Balkh in 1207 and died in 1273. He was also a metaphysician. Cf. Let LIV.

3. Cf. Let XCII

4. *I.e.* Zahedeh Banu. Cf. Let XXIV

5 Another great Persian poet, chiefly known for 'Ghazal' writing. He is considered to be the great moral teacher of Persia. He was born at Shiraz about 1175 and died in 1292. At first he served as a soldier. He was a great traveller unlike Hafiz and visited India. Jāmi, a Persian poet, calls him 'the nightingale of the groves of Shiraz'

LETTER XLVI

Exalted son, His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) asked Sa'ad Alláh Khán,[1] "What are the means of satisfying the Creator and what are the good fruits of our life?" He replied, "Justice and charity with which God has endowed your most holy person." A person said to the qualified Khán in a sarcastic tone, "Honest and faithful men are very rare in this world, possibly you know this." He replied, "The world is not, in any way, devoid of honest people A wise man must take good men into his service, look after their welfare, realise his desires through them, and not listen to the words of the selfish against them." His Majesty observed, "Honest and respectable men and good officers are rare He who is favoured by God with the highest position must inquire into the condition of honest and good people. He must not regard an able person worthless though he may be a stranger He must avoid the company of foolish and worthless people though they may be equal to him in position. He must favour and patronise a good and friendly officer"

LETTER XLVII.

Exalted son, one day His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) said privately to Dárá Shekúh,[1] "You should not be ill-disposed to and suspicious of the royal grandees.[2] You should treat all of them with favour and kindness and not listen to the words of the selfish and the liars against them. Because this advice will be one day useful to you." As my heart warms towards you, I write to you what I ought not to write. To shew hypocrisy to worthy people is to spoil the business

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1. Cf. Let. XV.

1 Cf. Let V.

2. But Aurangzebe was somewhat suspicious.

LETTER XLVIII.

Exalted son, one day His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) entered the 'Ghosal Kháneh'[1] in a sad mood. Sa'ad Alláh Khán[2] and Ali Mardán Khán[3] asked for the cause of distraction of his noble mind His Majesty observed, "Some of the civil and financial officers have died. Other dignified persons are not found immediately to undertake such important affairs My mind is not at peace for the thought lest order will be destroyed." Kilich Khán[4] said, "The

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1. A place in the palace where Shah Jehan used to go in the afternoon after being disengaged from state affairs.

"The grand hall of the Aam-o-Khás (Cf Let XII) opens into a more retired chamber called the 'Ghosal Khaneh,' or the place to wash in Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the Aam-o-Khas. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large estrade. It is in this place that the king, seated in a chair, his Umaráhs standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state. Every Umarah incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening, as for failing to be present at the Aam-o-Khas in the morning." Bernier. Cf. Let. LXX.

2 Cf. Let XV.

3 The Persian governor of Kandahar which city he surrendered to Sháh Jehán (1637) and entered his service Shah Jehan made him governor of Cashmere and of the Punjáb successively In 1645 he was sent with Múrád to take Balkh and Badakhshán which he took (Cf Let I) He was made by Sháh Jehan Amir-ul-Umará. He died in 1658 He constructed a canal at Lahore which still exists. 'Ali Mardán, who in his taste and disposition would not have disgraced the Roman Lucullus, bestowed on the public numerous edifices and gardens'

4. Title of Abid Khan who came from Persia to India in the reign of Shah Jehan who raised him to the rank of 4000 horse. He died by a cannon ball at the siege of Golconda in 1686. He was the father of Ghazi-úd-Din Khan Firúz Jang (Cf Let CLVII) and the grandfather of the celebrated Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jáh of Haiderabad. In 1680 he was given the title of Kilich Khan by Aurungzebe (privately). He had another son, called Muhammad Aaref.

well-being of the important affairs of the permanent sovereignty depends upon the auspices of your holy person Your slave has, in a short time, trained five of his servants in such a way that they are fit for high posts in the kingdom, for services in provinces and for the management of affairs " On hearing these words joy shone on the noble face of His Majesty who ordered Kilich Khán to bring the five servants into his presence in the evening in order to be inspected for appearance and character (His Majesty further remarked), " How pleasant it is if affairs are transacted according to (one's) desires ! " Kilich Khán entered His Majesty's presence (with his five servants) exactly at the appointed time. Having attained to the fortune of (being present into) His Majesty's most holy service he spoke (to the emperor) about the good character and ability (of the five servants). Each of them was honoured with the favour and appreciation of the master of the world (*i e.* Sháh Jehán), and was given a worthy and personal (not hereditary) post and assistants to serve under His Majesty shewed special favours to the above-mentioned Khán also. He was given a personal title of ' Yak-Hazari ',[5] and, in addition, two hundred cavaliers His Majesty observed, (verse) " May you (the Khán) be happy because you have made me happy " Out of thankfulness for the acceptance of his request (by Shah Jehan) and for the favours of the bountiful master (*i e* Sháh Jehán), the qualified Khán gave away in charity one thousand ' Mohurs ' [6] to the deserving.

LETTER XLIX.

Exalted son, Kámyáb Khán, the clerk of the assistant of your secretary, has written me a letter (Couplet) " He

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5. Cf Let XVI.

6. A round gold coin of Akbar's time, worth about fifteen rupees.

who draws the sword of oppression is killed by Providence with the same sword (*i.e.*, he who practises oppression is oppressed in return)." What is done (by you) for order and discipline is done. It would have been better had you not made unallowable haste (in inflicting a capital punishment upon the oppressive officer—mentioned in the clerk's letter). Nevertheless, though retaliation[1] is a just law, the affliction of (one's) heart is the cause of displeasure to God. For this reason it is said (verse), "There is pleasure in pardoning a person, but there is no pleasure in retaliating on him."

LETTER L.

Exalted and blessed son, Muhammad A'azam, may God save and protect you. You have known the condition of my riding horses. The Emperor Jehángir (Aurungzebe's grandfather) punished so severely his head groom that it proved absurd to give him the title of 'Saf Shekan Khán' (lit the master of the breaker of the files of an army) (Verse) "It is quite contrary to the nature of a negro to call him a 'káfūr' (camphor)."[1] His Majesty (Shah Jehán) used to say, "A senseless man spoils the business We are helpless in making suitable appointments in times of difficulties and hardships of journey and of arrangement in an emergency." You should select one from your grooms and (then) write to me. (Verse) "We must put up with

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1 A kind of punishment ('kassás')—life for life, hand for hand, foot for foot, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, wound for wound—mentioned in the Koran as being just.

1 The Persian poets call a negro who is black by the name of 'kafūr' (camphor) which is white. As it is absurd to call a negro by the name of 'kafur', it was also absurd to call the head groom of Jehangir by the name of 'Saf Shekan Khan.'

every class of people ; what is to be done with them ? they are also people "

LETTER LI.

Exalted son, a reporter writes to his own brother from the district of Lauli (that) "The tolls on merchants and travellers bring forth every year from Rs. 15000 to 16000, but the district treasurer and the police officer do not send to the royal treasury more than Rs. 1000 or 2000." Truly, this is not 'ráh-dári'[1] (collecting tolls) but 'ráh-zani' (robbing the king of his property). The (use of the) property of the people (by the king for his private expenses) is unlawful[2] If these officers take five percent out of hundred and one percent out of forty (of the tolls) I will not grudge it Suppose that the dishonest practice of the treasurer is disclosed, the first thing for enquiring into this is that an order should be issued in the names of the commissioner and the secretary Then I know what to do about his dishonesty The half of the produce of the land is allowable to the landlord and the remaining (half) is the property of the king.

In the reign of His Majesty (Sháh Jehán), a person at the time of the passing of the royal procession, cried out in a loud voice, "This auspicious time is an aggregate of good actions. Just ruler and the greatest mini-

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1. Transit duty, a tax levied upon travellers during the time of the Moguls. It was remitted, along with seventy-nine other taxes, by Aurungzebe, when he came to the throne. 1659. Still it was exacted with greater rigour by the distant government officials, who took an undue advantage of the emperor's leniency

2. This is a peculiar characteristic of Aurungzebe which he followed according to the dictates of his religion Before his death he made a will that his funeral expenses might be defrayed from the proceeds of the sale of the caps which he himself had knitted.

ster, (Your Majesty) is anxious to have honest secretaries. Your subjects are in a good and secure condition. It is a duty incumbent upon me to thank (God) for the divine favours upon (your) most holy personage" On hearing these words, H. M ordered the procession to halt for a time, called the special officers from a distance and raised up his hands for blessing the man, and then presented him a robe of honour At that time Sa'ad Alláh Khán told H. M., "The necessaries of the life of a man are in proportion to his desires, and his desires are in proportion to his good nature."

LETTER LII.

Exalted son, Sa'aeed Khán Bahádür Zafer Jang[1] brought a person into the presence of His Majesty (Sháh Jehán), and out of good grace praised him. Sa'ad Alláh Khán allowed nothing to pass from truth (i e, gave justice to the man) and said, "May Sa'aeed Khán be happy who presents such a man (before Your Majesty) and speaks to Your Majesty about his good manners." Words passed from the auspicious tongue of H. M. (to the effect that), "It is your (*i e*, officers') business to bring servants into my presence, while my work is to patronise them in order to give lustre to affairs. The officers should oblige me by finding out and then presenting before me eruoite and well-versed secretaries, honest officers and many respectable soldiers whom I want." The prime minister[2] said, "The man of every class, who does every useful work in your holy reign, is, in the end, honoured with a worthy post and presented a costly robe of honour." His Majesty ordered the prime minister to examine the ability of the man and

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1. An officer serving under Shah Jehan. He was governor of Cabul before 1637.

2. *I.e.* Sa'ad Allah Khan. Cf. Let. XV.

then to give him a fine service. Sa'aeed Khán Bahádur, out of thankfulness for the good favours of the appreciating potentate (i e Sháh Jehán), distributed Rs. 10000 among pious, virtuous and poor people.

LETTER LIII.

Exalted son, one day Pahár Amal, the secretary of the unfriendly brother,[1] produced a balance sheet before His Majesty (Sháh Jehán), and said, "Ten lacs of rupees, for the payment of the balance of the days in which we (i.e. Dárá and Pahar Amal) had accounts with each other, are to be paid from the royal treasury. Your Majesty should order the payment." His Majesty handed over the balance sheet to Sa'ad Alláh Khán and said, "With a view to looking into details, examine the sheet and then speak to me." The above-mentioned Khán said immediately, "Such a large sum of money should not be paid from the royal treasury Next time the cash account will be settled for the payment of each other." After the dispersal of the court, Dárá the Pompous uttered angry words to the prime minister (i.e. Sa'ad Alláh Khán). When the note sent by the officer of the 'Ghosal Kháneh'[2] reached H. M., at once H. M. wrote a letter to the unfriendly brother and inserted the following couplet in it. (Couplet) "To quarrel with the good and the virtuous is to shew enmity to oneself, he who draws a dagger on a mirror draws it on himself." (H.M. further wrote in the letter) "It is a special qualification of princes to distinguish between right and wrong. Pahár Amal wants to economise for you while Sa'ad Alláh Khán does to preserve my property. If the balance sheet was verified from your account book, it was

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1. I e Dara. Cf Let. V
2. Cf Let. XLVIII.

your duty to inquire whether it was possible or impossible for Sa'ad Alláh Khán to pay the sum Otherwise it is very bad to afflict (the hearts of) the royal servants, especially Sa'ad Alláh Khán. It is good to win the hearts of these men.[3] Able and intelligent servants are the source of increase of property and of a good name to their masters" In the evening His Majesty presented Sa'ad Alláh Khán some bundles of Mahmúdi[4] cloth embroidered in one colour and three thousand 'dinars' [5] in cash.

LETTER LIV.[1]

Exalted son, this verbal story has reached my ears from a reliable source I write it to you in details so that you may also know it. One day His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) honoured Ali Mardán Khán[2] and Sa'ad Alláh Khán[3] with the distinction of special audience before H. M.'s presence; and said eloquently, "The order and management of the kingdom and property simply depend upon wisdom and justice. May God forbid, if an unworthy king attains to the dignity of sovereignty and appoints ministers and nobles having no sound judgment to posts (in the kingdom), absolute disorder will prevail in the management of the country. Then follow the ruin and poverty of the subjects, and the country yields a reduced revenue and (thus) is ruined For pleasing God you should associate with the pious and the

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3. Cf. Let. V

4. Cf Let. XXVI.

5. An ancient gold coin, weighing one 'misqual,' i e 96 barley grains.

1 This letter gives us an insight into the characters of Aurungzebe and of his three brothers, Dara, Shuja and Murad.

2. Cf Let. XLVIII.

3 Cf. Let. XV.

religious After the five prayers you should pray for me that the splendour of the kingdom may not diminish and that no one may use abusive language. After my death the son who succeeds me[4] will be helped with good graces. Many times I have been thinking that though the eldest son of sovereignty[5] possesses dignity and pomp and grandeur and glory, he is an enemy of the good and a friend to the bad[6] (Verse) 'He is good towards the vicious and unfriendly towards the virtuous' Shújá[7] possesses no quality except generosity Múrád Bakhsha[8] has no virtue at all. He is engaged in eating and drinking and is constantly indulging in wine. But such and such a person, i e. this humble mortal (i.e Aurungzebe), seems to me to possess determination and foresight[9]. Most probably he will be king after me." Sa'ad Alláh Khán recited the (following)

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4. Shah Jehan was deceived by destiny Aurungzebe, his third son, came to the throne before his death He was imprisoned by his ungrateful son and died eight years after Aurungzebe's accession to the throne.

5. *I.e.* Dara. Cf. Let. V

6. In all probability this is historically incorrect No doubt he instigated the murder of Sa'ad Alláh Khan, an honest and good man with whom he seems to have been not on good terms.

7. Cf Let. XCI.

8. Cf. Let. I.

9. Here again Aurungzebe speaks humbly and politely about himself. Though he boasts of his foresight, history proves that he greatly lacked this faculty. He committed a grave political blunder in conquering Golconda and Bijapur which, left to themselves, would have served to keep the rising Mahrattá power in check He would have most probably succeeded in crippling down this power in its infancy with the help of these two Mohemadan kingdoms in the South. Aurungzebe could not foresee that this rising power would overthrow his mighty empire within a short time after his death Again he made a great mistake in alienating the *Rajputs* from the Moguls and thus departing from Akbar's wise and foresighted policy. He could not foresee that the English would take the place of the Moguls in India within a century. Aurungzebe's life was a failure on account of his shortsighted policy. But, no doubt, he was a man of great resolution as has

hemistich of 'the Spiritual Leader'[10] "A foresighted man is auspicious" His Majesty observed, (verse) "Who will be selected by God and towards whom will His inclination be?"

LETTER LV.

My dear son, it is said that on the day of 'Chauki[1],' Ali Mardán Khán[2], Abú Sa'aeed Marz, and Kilich Khán[3] used to first offer the soldiers coffee, then at the time of breakfast, they used to serve them breakfast, at the time of dinner, dinner, and at the time of departure, perfumes and 'páns[4].' They used to send various dishes to the family members of the soldiers and to say 'Their wives and child-

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been proved by history He possessed a resolute and calm mind of which he gave numerous proofs during his lifetime As a prince, when he was surrounded by enemies on all sides at Balkh and was in great danger he dismounted at sunset and knelt down to pray to God In his fight with Dára at Samúgarh he was on the point of losing the battle, but he did not lose heart but remained calm and ordered his elephant's legs to be chained together Again he exhibited the same spirit when his son Akbar joined the Rájputs and rebelled against him

Bernier says, "He (Aurungzebe) was reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation" Again he says that he possessed a sounder judgment (than Dara) and that "The high opinion expressed by Shah Jehan of his son Aurungzebe provoked the envy of Dara"

10 Cf. Let. XLV.

1. Watch, an Indian word.

"Mounting guard is called in Hindi 'Chauki' There are three kinds of guards The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy 'mansabdar'."

Ain-i-Akbari.

2. Cf. Let. XLVIII.

3 Cf. Let XLVIII.

4 Betels, an Indian word. Cf. Let. CXLVIII

ren do not taunt us for feeding the soldiers alone and for want of magnanimity (towards them) and are not grieved'.

In former times a person began to complain of the times before a great man. The great man said, "We should thank (God) for and praise the present time much, because man has no fear about his livelihood and no anxiety about his person and property (in Sháh Jehán's time). There is no fear of relaxation in (one's) religion and faith. In future, the intentions of mankind will be changed and severe oppression will take place. Justice and gratitude will totally disappear Administrators and protectors of cities will be publicly engaged in plundering (people) The ruling king of the (future) time will not give justice to the oppressed The nobles will try to support the tyrants for the (mutual) benefit of one another The rights (of people) will be disregarded and be trampled under foot Wives will display bravery while daughters will be honoured with ministerships Men of merit, on account of discouragement and want of appreciation, will purposely abstain from helping in the improvement of affairs Worthy officers, nothwithstanding their retirement from office, will not be safe (from oppression) The foolish and the inexperienced will manage the state affairs The sons will afflict (their) fathers and the fathers will have no paternal love for (their) sons. Virtuous wives will weep for the debauchery and disaffection of (their) profligate husbands There will not be timely rain The governors, through their selfish ominous nature, will cause corn to be sold dearer The countries will be ruined owing to the oppression of the rulers. Public women will live openly in the houses of nobles and great men Men will like to be clad in the dress of women (i. e., will prove cowards)."

1690 or 1701. LETTER LVI.

Exalted son, Fázil Khán[1], your spiritual leader, died. I am sorry (for his death) He was confidential (or learned), careful about his business, and of a good disposition He kept finance officers under his charge carefully and cautiously He illumined the house of this humble creature (i e, Aurungzebe himself) with his stewardship You should not also doubt the good nature of Vazier Khán Háji Muhammad[2]. Though Saivad Muhammad Khán and Mir Nayáz are not bad, yet they are strict officers When most of the officers under you are my servants, just now I want Kábil Khán and I require him from you You should appoint Muhammad Mühasan to the office held by Kábil Khan. In my court there is dearth of good men (i e, are very few)[3] Till his arrival here Ináyat Alláh Khán[4] will

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1 Deputy minister of Aurungzebe after the death of Ragunath (1663) He died in the same year His original name was Abul Mulk Tuni, and he revised the 'Badshah Nameh' of Muhammad Waris At first he was chief steward of Aurungzebe He was a nobleman of Khorasan and was very honest and well versed in astrology His counsels were essentially useful to Aurungzebe Bernier mentions him in his book and calls him "The illustrious Fazil Khan, a minister charged with the weightiest concerns of the empire, on whose decision depended the amount of my salary as physician"

There was another man bearing the same title, whose original name was A'atimad Khán He was honoured with the title of Fazil Khan in 1689. He also was chief steward He died of plague in 1690

There was a third man holding the same title, who was also chief steward In 1697 he was appointed governor of Cashmere in place of Abu Nasr Khan He left Cashmere for the Deccan, but died on the way 1701. It is not clear which of the last two is mentioned here

2 Governor of Burhanpur. In 1664 he was made governor of Ujjain.

3 Cf. Let XXXVI

4 Aurungzebe's chief secretary who collected the emperor's letters known as 'Ruka' at-i-Alamgiri' which are here translated into English. Cf. Preface & Let CXVI.

act for him, though he has much work. Háfizeh Mariam[5] claims a better right. Her son (i. e, Ináyat Alláh Khán) is known to me by his ability, but he is harsh towards his relatives. Directly and indirectly I often tell you by way of advice, "Ragúnáth Sa'ad Alláh Khán[6] did not assign financial posts to his own brothers and used to say, 'Those very brothers are (like) officers who bring ruin to the houses (of their masters) May God guide or kill them'."

LETTER LVII.[1]

Exalted son, the delicious mangoes (sent by you) sweetened the palate of the old father. May the happiness and fortune of the young son ((i e, A'azam) be augmented. (Verse) "Whatever proceeds from a friend is good."

1704 LETTER LVIII.

Exalted son, life of the father, produce of the life of the father (i.e, dear son), the province of Gūjarat[1] is not like

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5 A nurse of A'azam and mother of Inayat Allah Khan and tutoress of the princess Zib-ūn-Nisa Begum, Auruugzebe's daughter By her influence her son was raised by degrees to the rank of 2500.

6 A Hindu chief who was brought up, patronised and introduced into the royal presence of Shah Jehan by Sa'ad Allah Khan Shah Jehan made him his minister He was called Rai Raian, the King of Kings. In 1659 Aurungzebe conferred on him the title of Raja Ragunath He was a deputy minister to Aurungzebe and died in 1663 Bernier mentions him as the Raja Ragnat, who acts as vizier' when he accompanied Aurungzebe an his journery to Cashmere

1. Cf Let IX.

1 Gujarat is said to be a contracted form of 'Gurjar Rashtra', the country of the Gurjars', who are supposed to have come from Gurjaria or Georgia, a province of the North of Persia, now in the possession of Russia, known for her beauties Cf Gujarat a town in the Punjab, where a battle was fought between the Sikhs and the English.

Bengál, the Deccan and Cábūl (*i.e.*, Gūjarát is in the middle of the empire and not on the borders, like Bengál, the Deccan and Cábūl) that owing to a great distance and a frontier of the kingdom, the appointment of commissioners (for Gūjarât) should be accepted volens nolens (by you) (*i e*, the commissioners for Gūjarát must not be appointed by others but by ourselves, because it is situated in the middle of the empire). Henceforth you should act according to my system till the work is executed with promise and threat (to commissioners). The police officer of the district of Dohud[a], who is old and sickly, did not come into your presence on account of (his) physical infirmities. He should not be dismissed (from his post) by you and should be left to follow his own way.

LETTER LIX.

Exalted son, a saint wrote a tradition and brought it to me (and said), " His Holiness the Prophet (*i.e*, Mahomet)—may the benediction and peace of God be upon him and upon his family—asked the great (angel), Gabriel, 'Which service is the best?' The angel replied, 'The service of kings which brings benefit and pleasure to the needy.' I also wish to enter the service of kings and to fulfil the desires of the Mohemadans." I said, "There is no objection against this (your serving me)".

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a. *I.e.* Pir Mankha. Cf. Let. XXXI.

Dohud is said to be derived, by some, from Pers. 'dū', two and 'had', boundaries, because it is situated on the two borders of Gujarat and Malva. Some say it is a corr. of Gujarati 'Dahi vad', a place of curd or of dairy men.

LETTER LX.[1]

Exalted son, to refuse the presents brought by the nobles before you is a loss to the royal treasury Though this time I forgive you for goodness' sake, you should not do so in future

LETTER LXI.

Exalted son, the Turkey horse[1] you sent this time has a good appearance and nature He is again better than the first one. I have named him 'Sabuk-sair' (lit. of a light walk, *i e*, swift), because this name harmonises with the thing named (*i e*, the horse).

LETTER LXII

Exalted son, at your suggestion I made Muswi Khán[1] the chief paymaster. It is sufficient if the servant dis-

1 This letter is a testimony to Aurungzebe's love of money He reproaches his son for not accepting presents from his nobles

1 "Merchants bring to court good horses from Irak-i-Arab and Irak-i-Ajam from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshan, Tibet, Kashmere, and other countries There are fine horses bred in every part of the country, but those of Cutch excel, being equal to Arabs. There are two classes of horses 1 Khas (special); 2 those that are not Khas. Grandees and other 'Mansabdars,' and senior 'Ahadis' are in charge of the stables. The 'Atbegi' is in charge of all horses belonging to the government He directs all officers charged with the management of the horses. This office is one of the highest of the state.

"The Darogah There is one appointed for each stable. This post may be held by officers of the rank of commanders of five thousand down to senior 'Ahadis' In this country, horses commonly live to the age of thirty years. Their price varies from 500 mohurs to 2 rupees " Ain-i-Akbari.

"Horses have been divided into seven classes. These seven classes are Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis, and janglah horses "

Ain-i-Akbari.

1 An Amir of high rank in Aurungzebe's court, his proper name being Mûa' azz-ûd-Din Muhammad. He was a good poet, and had at first assumed Fitrat as his poetical name, but afterwards changed it into Muswi to which the title of Khan was added by Aurungzebe. He died, aged 58 years, in the Deccan in 1690.

charges his duty satisfactorily. His appearance is not bad. I don't know his character (Verse) "The wickedness of the soul (i e, the character of a man) is not known for many years." It is a general rule to inquire privately into the character of a man who is to be appointed to a post. Because in the beginning (of the service of servants) people are deceived by the performance of good service; but afterwards they find themselves to be served by selfish servants. Here after Eftikhár Khán[2] and Muhammad Ali Khán[3], Fázil Khán[4] and Fazáyal Khán[5] managed the 'Khámáni' post well, from whose foreheads good signs were seen (to proceed). Physical diseases can be cured by doctors, but mental diseases, like selfishness, can be remedied only by the Changer of Hearts (i e., God).

LETTER LXIII.

Exalted son, may the Great God protect thee I wanted to make Diánat Khán Abdül Kádir the secretary to (my) grandson Bahádür[1]; but his name does not agree with his nature (i.e., he is dishonest—Diánat Khán means 'the honest Khán'). Honesty is not to be expected from him.

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2. His original name was Sultan Husain In the first year of Aurungzebe he was given the title of Eftikhar Khan. He was appointed 'faujdar' of Jaunpür, where he died in 1681.

3. Aurungzebe's chief steward He was very honest, pious and wise. He was the patron of Muhammad Mühasan, the merchant prince of Surat. He died in 1688

4. Cf Let. LVI.

5. He was serving in a publishing house (dar-ul-ansha)

1. Cf. Let. XI.

1704. LETTER LXIV.

Exalted son, you possess a sound judgment in executing (my) orders Gūjarát is the ornament and jewel of India[1]. Here are found men belonging to every kind of industry, art and profession The sample (of an article) sent to me recently from the royal factory in Gūjarát is rough and costly. You should, of course, make an inquiry into this matter

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1. But, alas! Now she does not deserve this proud title. Were Aurungzebe to come to life again he would witness this country in quite a different state from what it once was To day her industries, arts, and professions are ruined and lost to her and now she is in a degraded condition

Bernier mentions the manufactures of Mogul India as 'carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the conntry, or exported abroad.' He further says, "There are ingenious men in every part of India. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instructions from a master" Again he says, "I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Akbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance."

"The imperial workshops, the towns of Lahor, Agra, Fatehpūr Ahmedabad, Gujarat, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship, and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail astonish experienced travellers." Ain-i-Akbari.

"Painters, seal-engravers and other handicraftsmen are countless. They inlay mother-o'-pearl with great skill and make beautiful boxes and inkstands. Stuffs worked with gold thread and of the kinds Chirah, Fotah, Jamahwar, Khara, and velvets and brocades are here skilfully manufactured. Imitations of stuffs from Turkey, Europe, and Persia are also produced They make likewise excellent swords and daggers of the kinds Jamdhar and Khapwah, and bows and arrows There is a brisk trade in jewelry and silver is imported from Turkey and Irak" Ain-i-Akbari.

"Through the favour of H M (Akbar), all products of art, and the manufacture of woolen and silken carpets and of brocades were extensively encouraged."

Ain-i-Akbari.

LETTER LXV.

Exalted son, from the detailed reports sent to me from the Nurbadá[1] (I came to know) that Amán Allah Beg[2], the superintendent of the artillery of (my) dear son ((i e, A'azam), totally defeated the Satan-like, wicked and shameless Santá[3] and brought safe the provisions of Bák Khán and his own followers. Indeed, his endeavours and exploits, together with those of his followers, are worthy of praise and laudation You should show him proper favours and recommend him to me also.

LETTER LXVI.

Exalted son, Mir Jalal-ūd-Din[1], who has resigned your service, is evidently the nephew of the late Himmat Khán[2]

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1. Cf. Let. XL

2. Cf Let. XXXVII

3. Santaji Gorepuray, a brave general and one of the best officers of Rám Rajah, who attacked Aurungzebe's forces bravely. He defeated and imprisoned many of Aurungzebe's generals near Ginji. He defeated Kasim Khan Again he defeated Himmat Khan and killed him He compelled the Moguls under Zūl Fikar Khan to raise the siege of Ginji He quarrelled with Dannáji Jádow, his companion, was deserted by his adherents and murdered by Nágoji Manai, whom he had offended, in 1698. In 1690 he was made 'Senapati' or general by Raja Ram and was styled Rao Mamlūkut Madár He first came into notice in the time of Shivaji He was an officer of greater ability and enterprise. He was 'the terror of the Mogul detachments for seven years.'

Aurungzebe was impolite in writing Hindu names. He omitted the suffix 'ji' denoting respect, after the Hindu, esp., the Mahratta, names. Similarly he wrote Shivá instead of Shivaji

This is a further evidence of Aurungzebe's fanatic spirit towards the Hindus Cf Let. II and CVIII.

1 He was at first in the service of Abdul Aziz Khan, governor of Bokhara Cf Let. CLXXII

2 Son of Khan Jehan Bahádúr and general of Aurungzebe who was sent against Santaji, by whom he was defeated and slain, 1696, near Dodairee. His original name was Saiyad Mūzaffar The title of Himmat Khan was conferred on him by Shah Jehan. Aurungzebe twice appointed him governor of Allahabad.

who was my chief paymaster. He is a true Saiyad[3], of noble birth, and of a good character. Why have you dismissed him?

LETTER LXVII

Exalted son, why did the sons of Shamshir Khán[1] resign? There must be some cause for their resignation. To dismiss old servants for a slight offence and to appoint new ones (in their places) is totally useless. I am like the sun approaching the vault (of the sky—i.e., I am nearing death)[2]. What do you think? Any how, if you come before my holy presence and become a king, I won't mind it[3].

LETTER LXVIII.

Exalted son, (couplet) "Your companion must be better than yourself, so that your wisdom and faith may increase." For a long time I have heard that in your 'Jághir' districts oppression is practised openly. Justice does not remove the oppressors for the sake of the poor oppressed who have no access to the ruler. In the court of God the angels write down the acts of oppression in the account of the governor appointed (by you or by me)[1]. What does it mean to give so much power to the second paymaster and

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3. A descendent of the prophet Mahomet.

1. He was present with Mir Khan at Cabul to punish the Usufzi Afghans. 1667. He was sent to Cabul in 1660 as a fort keeper. Before 1703 he was governor of Bihar. In 1704 he was appointed governor of Müazzamabad Udeh. Cf. Let. LXXXII.

2. Cf. Let. 1

3. Cf. Let. XXVII

1. Cf. Let. XIV, CXXXII and CLXX

Aurangzebe was just, clement and benevolent

to put great confidence in him so that no one has power ot speak against his action? Though it is right to increase the independent power of a man of business in any way, it is simply foolish to give an absolute authority to a servant and not to pay any attention to the important affairs executed by him. (Quatrain) "Do not associate with an evil person, be a stranger to him (*i.e.*, be far from him). If you eat his grain, you will fall into his snare (like a bird) The arrow, on account of its straightness, saw the bow crooked, behold, how it left its hollow[1] (*i.e.*, as the arrow does not like the crookedness of the bow and consequently leaves it, similarly a good person should not desire the company of a bad one and consequently should abandon his company)" (Verse) "Fear the sighs of the oppressed; because at the time of their prayer, acceptance comes to receive it from the court of God (*i.e.*, the prayer of the oppressed is heard and accepted by God)".

LETTER LXIX.

Exalted son, Eftikhár Khán[1], at the time of the service of (his) stewardship, owing to (his) good nature, experience, and careful attentio., made me the (following) fine statement, "Dishonesty does not consist only in taking and dragging property, but in representing truth as untruth and untruth as truth." I was much pleased (at these words); and I issued forth a strict order to all officers and royal servants (to the effect) that they should represent to me the facts about each person without any exaggeration and should not care for the dignities of relatives, acquaintances, and strangers.

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1. Cf. Let. LXII.

LETTER LXX.

Exalted son, when His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) conferred the title of 'Ráo'[1] upon Jasvant Khatri[2] and made him a private secretary, he told him, "You should be honest in relation to myself and those who want 'jághirs'. When a list of the newly appointed persons and of additional titles or 'jághirs' is brought to me (for reference), you should bring before my presence four or five officers in the evening when I am looking at the maps of provinces and the designs of buildings in the courtyard of the 'Ghosal Khàneh,'[3] so that after examining the character and lineage of every one I will issue an order for 'jághirs'" In the same way he issued an order to the superintendent of the 'dágh-tasihah'[4] (to the effect) that he must receive any orders for branding

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1 Cf Let. XVIII

2. Or Kshatri (lit) a warrior, the second of the four original castes among the Hindus, and next to a Brahmin (a Hindu priest).

3. Cf. Let XLVIII. All its walls were painted with the maps of India.

4. (Lit) 'the brand of correction,' i e, a place where horses were branded, i e, a stable.

Regulations for branding horses

"In order to prevent fraudulent exchanges, and to remove the stamp of doubtful ownership, horses were for some time marked with the word 'nazar' (sight), sometimes with the word 'dágh' (mark), and sometimes with the numeral ٧ (seven) Every horse that was received by government had the mark burnt on the right cheek, and those that were returned, on the left side.

Now-a-days the horses of every stable are distinguished by their price in numerals When horses, at the time of the musters, are put into a higher or a lower grade, the old brand is removed." Ain-i-Akbari

"In the 18th year of his reign, His Majesty (Akbar) introduced the branding system" "When the brand first introduced, it was made in the shape of the head of the letter 'sin,' and was put on the right side of the neck of the horse For some time, it was made in shape of two 'alifs' intersecting at right angles, the heads of the 'alif' being made heavy, and it on the right thigh. For some time again, it was like a bow with the ring taken off At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals .. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh" Ain-i-Akbari.

"The servants (mansabdars) of H. M. (Akbar) have their horses every year newly marked." Ain-i-Akbari.

(horses) with the seals of paymasters and then presenting them to His Majesty he must brand the horses, and that he must give an account of the expenses (of branding) to the secretary.

On account of the hardships of the difficult expedition I could not pay any attention to state affairs; consequently there was total disorder in the management of orders. His Majesty (Sháh Jehan) often used to say, "'Sar-kúb'[5] officers, treasurers, police officers, prefects giving final orders, 'karori'[6] paymasters, and (other) officers should acquire honesty and keenness which are the best of all (qualities)".

LETTER LXXI.[1]

Exalted son, from the reports sent to the royal court by reporters I came to know the details of the story of the

5 A post in the military department. It has other meanings (*a*) a heavy mace, (*b*) an out work

6. Indian financial officers during the Moguls. Lit. 'having ten millions.'

1 This letter shews Aurungzebe's great respect and reverence for the holy saints

Aurungzebe was of an ascetic turn of mind. When he was governor of the Deccan for the first time during Sháh Jehán's reign he retired from the world to the Ghauts for nearly one year like a 'fakir', a Mohemadan devotee 1643. Dara used to call him (ironically) 'That saint'. When he rebelled against his father (1657) he sent a message to the foolish Murad, his brother, to join him, to this effect "I want to see you on the throne. I don't like the crown After your accession to the throne I will turn mendicant and go to Mecca for pilgrimage" From these words we find him a hypocrite and double minded, because it was he who came to the throne after imprisoning his father and his brother, Murad The Mohemadans praise him as a saint while the Christians denounce him as a hypocrite. Cf. Let XCIII

Khafi Khan praises Aurungzebe's devotion, austerity, justice, courage, long suffering and judgment Bernier calls Aurungzebe 'reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation.'

Many saints flourished in Aurungzebe's time. The names of some of them are as follow

Sheikh Muhammad Varis, Sheikh Bayázeed, Sheikh Búrhán, Sheikh Abdúl Latif, Mir Nasrúdin Harvi, and Saiyad Sa'ad Alláh

impudence and misbehaviour of Hidáyat Keesh-i-Punjábi who, having drunk wine, walked on the enlightened tomb of Sháh Bandeh Naváz Gisú Daráz[2] and (thus) displayed his low spirit. When that wicked man had gone to that (holy) place in a drunken state, you ought to have sent your servants with an order to bind him hand and foot and to bring him (before you), and then having placed him in front, you ought to have sent him to me along with mace-bearers.[3] Evidently partiality should not be allowed to the reporter, for this, I have sent (to you) strict mace-bearers in order to bind the accursed (Punjábi) and to bring him (before me).

When unworthy persons, appointed to service, do such acts, in such cases I do not shew partiality to any of my sons, so what can I do for Ináyat Alláh Khán[4] and others?

1707 LETTER LXXII.[1]

(This letter was written in the enlightened writing in the state of death)

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2 A great Mohemadan saint, born at Delhi in 1321. His original name was Sad-ud-Din Muhammad Husaini, but he was commonly called '*Gisú Daraz*,' because he had '*long ringlets*.' He was a disciple of Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din Chirágh of Delhi. He lived at Gulburga at the time of the Bahamini kings of the Deccan and made Prince Ahamad Shah his disciple. His death took place in the Deccan in the beginning of the reign of Ahamad Shah in 1422. His tomb at Gulburga (or Hasanabad) was visited by pilgrims of all sects. He was also an author and wrote the following books 'Adab-al-Murid,' 'Wajud-al-Ashikin,' and 'Asmár-al-Asrar.' His tomb at Gulburga was visited by Aurungzebe after his conquest of Bijapur 1686.

3. "Among the 'koors' and the 'mansabdárs,' are mixed many 'gurz-bardars,' or macebearers, chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry the king's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed." Bernier.

4. Cf. Let. LVI.

1. Cf. Let. VII and LXXIII.

This letter, together with the next letter, is pathetic and touching. Here Aurungzebe repents but too late of his past sins and crimes. Again in these letters we find Aurungzebe's anxiety and care for the safety of his subjects, esp., of the Mohemadans, after his death.

May peace be upon you and upon those who are near you. Old age arrived and weakness became strong (*i.e.*, increased). Strength departed from the limbs. I came alone (in this world) and I go as a stranger (to the next world) I am unconscious about myself as to who I am and of what use I am. Time passed away without any devotion (to God) (Now) I have (only) to lament this passing away of time without any devotion I was devoid of administrative (tact) and care for the welfare of the people. (My) dear life has been spent in vain. God is present in this world but I do not see Him Life is not constant, and there is no sign visible of the past life, and there is no hope of a future life Fever has left me (on account of being ashamed of me). Only the skin is left (*i.e.*, there is no flesh upon my body, *i.e.*, I am very weak). Though (my) son Kam Bakhsha[2] is gone to Bijápûr,[3] he is near me. And, you, my exalted son (*i. e.*, A'azam), are still nearer (to me–being in Málwá). The most favourite (son) Sháh Álam[4] is at a greater distance than all (sons—*i. e.*, at Cabûl) (My) grandson Muhammad A'azim[5] is gone, through the will of God, to the frontier of India (*i. e.*, near Cábûl). The whole (royal) army (in the Deccan) is confused and confounded The army is restless like me, who have selected loneliness from God (*i. e.*, who will not be accepted by God in paradise), and who am in perturbation, and who am restless like mercury (But) the army does not understand that there is a greater master (*i. e.*, God). I did not bring anything with me (in this world, *i.e.*,

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2 Cf Let LXXIII.

3 Hindustani form of Sanskrit Vijaypur, 'the Victorions City' Formerly it was a wealthy city in the Deccan and famous for its architecture It is now however in ruins. It was the capital of the Bahamini Adil Shahi kings and was taken by Aurungzebe in 1686 It is called 'the Palmyra of the Deccan'

4 *I.e.*, Muazzam, Aurungzebe's second son, the crown prince. Cf. Let. L

5. Muazzam's second son. Cf. Let LXXXVII.

I came here naked), (but now) I carry (with me) the fruits of sins (in the next world). I do not know in what punishment I shall be involved (there). Though I have strong hope in the favours and mercy (of God), my actions do not allow me to think over (i.e., I am afraid on account of my actions). I am unconscious of myself (Verse) "What is done is done. I have steered the boat (of my life) in the sea (of nonentity—i.e., now I am dying)". Though (my) subjects will be protected by God, it is necessary for (my) sons to cast their look on outward circumstances that the people of God (i.e., subjects) and (especially) the Mohemadans may not be killed unjustly Present my last good wishes to the grandson Bahádūr[6] whom I did not see at the time of his departure I have (still) another desire (to make to you) Though outwardly the Begum[7] is grieved, God is her protector. The short-sightedness of women has no fruit except disappointment. Good bye, good bye, good bye

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6 The eldest son of A'azam Cf Let XI and LXXVI

7 I.e., Zinat-an-Nisa, the only surviving daughter of Aurungzabe, who died in 1708

Letter addressed to

Kam Bakhsha[1].

1707. LETTER LXXIII[2]

(This letter was written by Aurungzebe to the prince Sultan Muhammad Kam Bakhsha at the time of his death)

My charming son, though in (this) world of free will (where men act according to their own will), I advised you about the divine will, and more than this, about the divine power, it was destined that you would not listen to and accept this advice Now I go away (to the next world) as a stranger from all, and I pity you for your want of intelligence and ability, but now of what use ? I carry with me (to the next world) the fruits of sins and crimes which I had perpetrated (in this world) Nature is wonderful that I came alone (*i e*, naked—in this world) and go (to the next world) with this burden (of sins) Though fever attacked me for twelve days, (now) it could not bear (my leanness) and left me Wherever I cast my glances I find nothing but God The anxiety about my officers and army and for their future responsibility became the cause of the grief of my heart (*i e*, I am in grief that my officers and army will not be treated and guided well by my successors who are weak) I am unconscious about myself I committed many sins I do not know how I shall be punished (by God) Though the subjects will be protected by the

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1 The youngest and favourite son of Aurungzebe, born in 1667 of Udepuri He was sent to Jingi, along with Asad Khan to the help of Zul Fikar Khan in 1694 But he quarrelled with the father and the son and was on the point of joining the enemy when he was imprisoned by them (Cf Let CLXXIV) Afterwards he was released by Aurungzebe's order 69 In 1697 he was appointed governor of Berar Before 1704 he was governor of Haiderabad In 1707 Aurungzebe made him governor of Bijapur He died in 1709 on account of wounds received in battle near Haiderabad (Deccan) against his eldest brother Müazzam He was a poet and a learned man Cf Let CXXVI.

2 *Cf Let. VII and LXXII*

Master of both the worlds (i. e., God), it is a bounden duty of the Mohemadans and of (my) sons also to protect and save them according to outward circumstances. A'azam is also near me, and I have spoken to him what was necessary about you. You should also accept my last will[3]. It should not be that the Mohemadans be killed (in war); and the blame (of their being killed) will remain upon the neck of this useless (creature—i. e., Aurungzebe). I entrust you and your sons to (the care of) God and I myself ask your leave for departure (from this world). (My) condition is distracted (i. e., I am restless). Bahádūr Sháh is in the same place in which he was. (My) grandson, the glorious A'azim, is gone to the frontier of India. (My) grandson Bahádūr is in the neighbourhood of Gūjarát. Hiyát-ūn-Nisá (or Zinat-ūn-Nisá ?), who has not enjoyed the pleasures of the world, is in grief. The Begum knows her own condition (i. e., her condition is so bad that it cannot be described). Udepūri,[4] your mother, was with me in (my) sickness. She intends to accompany me (after my death—i. e. she will soon die after me like a Hindu 'Sati'). Though my relatives and servants shew wheat and sell barley (i. e., are hypocrites), you should give them employment through kindness, mildness, and carelessness (towards their hypocrisy). You should cut the coat according to the cloth. May the peace of God be upon you.

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3. According to this will Aurungzebe divided his kingdom among his three surviving sons and appointed Muazzam his successor. But this will was not carried out either by A'azam or by Kam Bakhsha, because they successively declared war against their eldest brother Muazzam for the throne and in turn lost their lives in the field.

4. The mother of Kam Bakhsha and the favourite wife of Aurungzebe. Some say she was a Christian from Georgia, and was purchased by Dara, on whose execution she passed into the hands of Aurungzebe. According to others she was a Sisodia Rajput woman of Jodhpur. Once she fell into the hands of the Rajputs of the Rana of Chitor, but the Rana sent her back to Aurungzebe with honour (1679).

Major Tod and Grant Duff call her Jodhpūri.

Letters addressed to

Prince Muhammad Ma'az-ūd-Din Baháḍūr[1], the eldest son of Sultan Muhammad Mūazzam, Sháh Álam Baháḍūr (the crown prince).

1706. LETTER LXXIV.

Grandson Baháḍūr, (your) victory over Malek Gházi and his defeat gave me much pleasure and I praise you for that. As a reward for (this) great service you are given the 'faujdárship' of Lakhi Jungle[2], a military title of 'Dah-Hazári,[3] and an additional title Along with a mandate conferring these posts, a robe of honour, a sword, a horse, an elephant and jewels will be sent to you. You should pay greater and greater attention to conquering kingdoms and extirpating the rebels from the district (*i e.*, Lakhi Jungle), which should be the duties of princes. You should not wait for (my) order to punish the rebels, and you should not expect an additional title like (the government) servants, because the kingdom belongs to you (*i. e*, you are a prince). I am like the sun on the border of the horizon (*i e*, I am old and nearing death)

LETTER LXXV

Brave grandson, the sagacious sons should not write (to me) asking for additional titles to reporters Why do

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1 The eldest son of Muazzam, born in the Deccan in 1662 In 1694 he was sent against Parnala Aurungzebe appointed him governor of Multan He came to the throne after his father as Jehandar Shah. 1712 But in one year he was defeated near Agra, then imprisoned, and at last put to death by Farūkh Shiar 1713 He used to pass most of his time with his mistress Lal Kūnwar

2 A district near Delhi, in the Punjab It was devastated by Fateh Khan Ját in Sher Shah's time

3 Cf. Let XVI (2000 × 2 + 2000 × 3 = 10000)

you make me this unreasonable request ? But if you think it proper, the service of reportership will be given to another, because the present reporter does not perform his duty well (he is not a true reporter) (Couplet) " When selfishness came, merit was concealed, a hundred curtains of hearts (i e, men) fell on eyes (i e, merit is not appreciated and rewarded by selfish people, they are blind to merit) "

Letters addressed to

Prince Muhammad Bidár Bakhta[1],

the eldest son of Sultan Muhammad A'azam Sháh Bahádur.

LETTER LXXVI.

My grandson Bahádür, from outside reports I came to know that during the time of your stay at Fatehpür[2], wicked persons attacked the place of Doharah which was attached (given) to Jehán Ará Begum for the expenses of her garden The Begum wrote this to you, and you tendered her a letter of apology Why did you not communicate this circumstance to me? Why did you conceal the correspondence that passed between you and the Begum?

LETTER LXXVII

Brave grandson, as you have before sent me a present for conquering the fortress of Bareetee Sháh, this (second) present for the same purpose is a repetition (only). As

1. A'azam's eldest son, born in 1670 He took part with his father in the Deccan War In 1691 he was given the title of 'Bahadur' In 1703 he was appointed governor of Khandesh, and in 1704 governor of Malwa. From 1705 to 1706 he was viceroy of Gujarat He was slain in the battle between his father and Muazzam at Agra. 1708. Cf. Let XI

2. Lit 'the City of Victory', a town near Agra.

3. The daughter of Shah Jehan by Mümtaz Mahal, born in 1614. She was accomplished, beautiful and heroic Once she was dangerously burnt and restored to health by Dr Boughton, an English physician She died in 1681 She was strongly attached to her father and brother Dara whom she supported, and thus she formed a contrast to her younger sister Roshan Ará who helped Aurungzebe in his ambitious designs and enabled him to dethrone Shah Jehan Jehan Ara was never married and was generally known by the name of Begum Sahib She lived with her father in the fort of Agra where he was imprisoned. After Shah Jehan's death (1666) Aurungzebe forgave her former conduct and treated her with kindness and liberality

In this letter there seems to be some discrepancy which is not clear.

you are going on an expedition I do not accept the second present (because you will require more money for the expedition), but forgetfulness on your part cannot be justified.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Grandson Bahádūr, for removing physical diseases and avoiding dangers you should continue the morning prayer which is accepted by God. All erudite and learned persons unanimously agree that to blow on water by reciting 'Sūrat-i-Ikhalás' and 'Sūrat-i-Shafa'a'[1] and then to drink that water is the great and immediate cure (of diseases). Though to weigh the entire body of a person against gold, silver, copper, corn, oil and other commodities is not the practice of the country of our ancestors and of the Mohemadans of this country (*i. e*, India), many needy and poor persons are benefited by this practice (therefore we must also observe this practice)[2]. His Majesty (Sháh Jehán)

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1 Lit 'the Chapter on Sincerity and 'the Chapter on Cure'—two chapters in the Koran This idea seems to be somewhat Zoroastrian.

2 This practice of 'tolá dána' (weighing charity) was common among the former Hindu Rajahs Shivaji also practised this Here Aurungzebe approves of a Hindu custom, though elsewhere (Cf Let II) he condemns Hindu customs and rites Aurungzebe also weighed himself against gold on his birthdays and distributed it amongst the poor About Aurungzebe's charity, besides the 'tola dana' (charity), it is mentioned in 'Mir-At-i-Alam' that 'the annual sum expended in charity amounted to one lac and forty-nine thousand rupees' Cf Let CLXXVI

"From reasons of auspiciousness, and as an opportunity of bestowing presents upon the poor, His Majesty (Akbar) is weighed twice a year. Various articles are put into the scales On the first day of the month of Abán (15th October), which is the solar anniversary of the emperor, H. M. is weighed twelve times against the following articles gold, quicksilver, silk, perfumes, copper, rūn-i-tūtiyá, drugs, ghee, iron, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain, salt. H M is weighed a second time on the 5th of Rajab (the lunar birthday of the emperor), against eight articles, viz, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, mustard oil, and vegetables.

also used to weigh (against gold, silver &c) his auspicious body twice a year and (then) to distribute the gold and silver equal to the weight of his own body among the poor. If this light of my eyes (i e., grandson Bahádūr) will weigh his body against various commodities, which are mentioned in the letter, fourteen times a year, it will be efficacious for removing mental and physical calamities. (Couplet) "You (i e, God) know our (man's) weakness, anxiety, and invalidity, and You also know the remedy and cure of our diseases." God is the curer and healer of diseases, God is perfect; and God is holy

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LETTER LXXIX.

Dear grandson, why is your officer absent from performing state affairs? He should not be given a post in the state, because he does not serve the state and the army You should not act like your officer. Send him to me or keep him as your servant. This (not performing the state affairs though being state servants) is the habit of Firūz Jang and Nasrat Jang[1] This light of my sight (i. e, grandson Bahádūr) should not follow such men. (Quatrain) "The time of permanency (i. e, of the world) passes away like the wind in the desert. Misery and happiness, beauty and ugliness, pass away (i e, time does not stop for any one) Everything in the world perishes. The oppressor

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"On both occasions the festival of Salgirih (birthday) is celebrated, when donations, or grants of pardon, are bestowed upon people of all ranks.

"The imperial princes, sons, and grandsons of H M, are weighed once in every solar year" Ain-i-Akbari

According to the Tuzuk-i-Jehángiri and Padishah Nameh, this practice of weighing of the royal person was introduced by Akbar It is an old Hindu custom Even the solar 'wazn' (15th October) was retained by Aurungzebe.

1. This is a bad remark against Aurungzebe's two generals. Cf. Let. XVI and LXXXIV.

thought that he oppressed us (i. e., others), but the burden of oppression remained on his own neck and passed away from ours (i. e., the oppressor thinks that the oppressed are suffering under his oppression, but really the oppressed are free from the burden of oppression after a time, while the oppressor is never free from it in his life, because he will be punished for oppression in the next world)'

LETTER LXXX

My brave grandson, at this time there is a dearth of good men and women (i e, are very rare)[1] Work must be done according to the dictates of the heart and not according to the sayings of bad people. More than this cannot be written, because it causes slander and sin (Verse) "The wall has got ears, move your lips after thinking (i e, think before you speak)"

LETTER LXXXI

My brave grandson, there is an enmity between the physically and mentally weak Khan Álam[1] and Nasrat Jang You should make Rao Dulip[2] a mediator between them and reconcile them to each other Having tried to win the heart of Nasrat Jang, appoint his secretary to the governorship of Malwá Fidá Khan[3] should be sent for stewardship

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1 Cf Let LVI

1 Title of Ikhalis Khan who served under Aurungzebe He was raised to the rank of 5000 in 1689, with the title of Khan Alam In 1696 the rank of 6000 was conferred on him He took an active part in capturing Sambhaji 1680 After Aurungzebe's death he took up the cause of A'azam against Muazzam and fell in battle in 1707.

2. Cf Let CLXII

3 Fida Khan Kukeh was made governor of Kabul in 1668

LETTER LXXXII

My dear grandson, may you be benefited and prosperous in religious and worldly matters You conquered the fortresses of Tarkand[1] and Navalkand[2] from wicked and misguided people May God be praised The achievement of this dear son deserve much praise and laudation. Your Shamsheer Khán[3] is also a good counsellor A good work proceeds from a good man I changed the name of Tarkand into Shamsheer Gadha (lit the fortress of Shamsheer Khán) The conquest of the fortresses by one (i. e, by you) and the claim of the conquest by the other (i.e., by me) excite the special greed of the world conquering (i e, my) treasury. (Couplet) " The sockets of the eyes of the greedy are never filled (i. e., the greedy are never satisfied). Till the shell was not contented it was not filled (with pearls—i. e, even the shell is not satisfied though it gets many pearls in it)"

LETTER LXXXIII

Grandson Bahadur, to win the hearts of soldiers is the greatest part of success[1] He of a happy disposition and of a high birth (i e., you) should try his best to execute this affair according to the entire sound advice of his forefathers Because on the continent of India, this piece of bread (i e, the Mogul Empire) is a generous gift (to us) from Their Majesties, the Lord of the Happy Conjunction (i.e, Tamerlane) and the Resident of Heaven (i e, Akbar)[2]. If, through the blessings of the bounties of the Transcendent

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1. A town and fort near Shahpur, in the Deccan
2. A town and fort in the Deccan
3. Cf Let. LXVII

1. Cf Let V
2. Another instance of Aurangzebe's humility.

God, you can do (something) for the stability and extent (of the empire), the eloquent historians will write down the details of it which will remain memorable upon the book of the pages of everlasting time (Couplet) "If you are going to enjoy the garden, be quick, because the spring will pass away like the colour of lawsonia inermis (a colouring shrub—i e., don't delay in taking advantage of the opportunity offered to you, otherwise you will lose it and there will be no chance of your having it again)".

1703. LETTER LXXXIV [1]

Grandson Bahádúr, the expenses incurred by Khán Fírúz Jang for his followers (in receiving me when I was passing from Bahádúrgadh) appeared to me more than proportionate to his rank and salary. (During my reception by him) I observed guns, 'rekhlás'[2], 'báns'[3], 'rám-jangis'[4], 'jazáyars'[5], 'god-náls'[6], 'shútúr-náls'[7], 'gaj-náls'[8], riding

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1 In this letter we find that Aurungzebe could not bear to see his generals displaying greater pomp and dignity than himself, and confiscated much of their property A part of this letter is quoted by the author of 'Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri' Cf Let. CLVII

2. Wheels or carriages on which guns are carried An Indian word, also used for carriages drawn by bullocks, seen often in Bombay

3. Contraction of 'agni-ban' =fire-arrows (Sans).

4. Harps invented by Ram, the lover of Vees. (Pers. Jangis=changis=harps). Hence, military horns

5. Large muskets (an Indian term).

6. Guns carried on horses (an Indian word).

7. Guns carried on camels (a Persian word)

8 Guns carried on elephants (an Indian word) Sans. 'gaj' or 'gan'= an elephant. Cf. 'Gaj Pati' or 'Gan Pati' (the Lord of Elephants), a Hindu god, son of Shiva and Parvati.

"Again, he (Akbar) made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name of gaj-náls."
Ain-i-Akbari.

horses with necessary equipments, horses and elephants equipped with armours stuffed with silk, other necessary things of pomp and dignity, and many other things which were either necessary or unnecessary Therefore I confisca ed many of the belongings of the Khán. Why do you, who have got things double those of the Khán, waste money and spend it without any cause? To spend money after useful things is necessary, but to spend it after other things (i e., useless things) is for self-adornment.

1692 Letter LXXXV

Grandson Bahádúr, I read (your) petition word by word. It enjoins two alternatives (i e, you should choose one of the alternatives) I must go to Málvá and Akbarábád[1], and you, to the Deccan, or vice versa. Write to me which of the two alternatives you find suitable.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Brave grandson, this light of sight (i. e, dear grandson Bahádúr) writes in (the beginning of) many letters (to me) 'May eternity join with fortune (i e, may your-Aurungzebe's-fortune be eternal)'. It is impossible that (one's) fortune should last from generation to generation (Then) how will it reach eternity? (i. e., fortune is not eternal). (Henceforth) you should begin every letter (thus) 'By the blessings of the bounties of the Unrivalled Exalted God'. Because God says truly 'Man is created helpless'[1]. (Couplet) "Know that the opposition of an enemy and a friend is from God, because the hearts of both of them are in His possession (i. e, the source of enmity as well as friendship is God and not man; because man's actions are subject to God's will)"

1 Cf Let. XI.

1. A phrase from the Koran,

Letters addressed to

Muhammad Azim-ud-Din Bahádūr,[1]

second son of Muazzam Sháh Álam Bahádur

1704 LETTER LXXXVII.

(My) grandson, well versed in repeating the great and ancient Koran by heart, some political affairs are taken into consideration I am excessively desirous of seeing this light of the eye (*i e*, my dear grandson) Having looked after the exalted government affairs and being desirous to see me, you should, in obedience to my order, appoint Mūrshid Kūlli Khán[2] to the governorship of your place (*i. e*, Bengál) and (then) should come into my humble presence with elephants and the royal treasury Nay, if you march (to see me) before receiving (my) order, it will be considered obedience on your part.

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1 Azim-ūsh-Shan, second son of Muazzam, born in 1664 of a Hindu princess Aurungzebe appointed him in 1697 viceroy of Bengal and 'faujdar' of Cūch Bahar He made Patna the seat of his government and named it Azimabad In 1698 he sold to the English the 'zamindáship' of Chuttanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpur After Aurungzebe's death he joined his father (1707) and took part in the battle between Muazzam and A'azam Second time he was appointed governor of Bengal (1707-1712) by his father After the death of his father, he fought for the throne with Jehandar Shah and his other brothers In the end he was drowned in the Rávee, a river in the Punjab, while fighting (1712) He was the father of Farūkh Shiar who came to the throne after Jehandar Shah in 1713.

2 Jafar Khan Murshid Kulli Khan was appointed governor of Bihar in 1703 Previous to that he was minister to Muhammad Azim-ud-Din In 1704 he was appointed viceroy of Bengal He founded the capital of Mūrshidabad and named it after his original title He was the son of a Brahman converted to Islam He died in the reign of Muhammad Shah about 1726 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ūd-Daula, ancestor of Siráj ud-Daula, connected with the Black Hole of Calcutta

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Grandson Azim, it is not good to be careless, like myself, of the Generous God and of oppression upon people who are the deposits[1] of the Creator Especially it is very bad for princes to practise oppression[2]. You should always accept as right, heartily and secretly, the true (religious) doctrines of death, resurrection, 'Sirát',[3] and divine punishment (after death). Every moment you should know that you are to depart from this world so that the new branch of hope will rise from the dust of expectance and the flowers of blessings will not be removed by the wind of the sigh of the oppressed (i. e, you will not be disappointed by the curses of the oppressed) Whence did you learn this peculiar habit (of oppression) which was neither practised by your grandfather nor by your father? It is better to eradicate this foolish habit (i e, oppression) from your mind. I considered you better than other princes (i e, my sons and grandsons) and I thought you to be a future king (Verse) "What we think proves to be false (or contrary—i e, man proposes, God disposes)"

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1. Men are considered to be the deposits of God in this world. Cf Let. VII

2. Aurungzebe used to give advice to princes how to manage state affairs He wanted to impress upon their minds his standard of kingly duty for the responsibilities of government.

3. The bridge on the border of hell, crossed by the dead—mentioned in the Avesta and in the Koran It is named 'Chinvud Pūl' by the Parsis. Here we find Aurungzebe's sense of justice and faith in religious matters. Cf. Let CXXXII.

The author of 'Mir-At-i-Alam' calls Aurungzebe "This most virtuous monarch," and says, "He is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion." Again the author says, "He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold." There it is said that Aurungzebe as a strict Sunni, followed the doctrines of Abū Hanifa and was perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Grandson of high dignity, you have requested me regarding the assignment of the district of Shankarpûr as a 'Jághir' to Sháh Álijáh (i e., your father) I did not know whence you acquired such well wishing It is no matter had Álijáh himself requested me about what you requested. Otherwise remove such foolish ideas from (your) head, because they do not increase love and friendship (between us). Nay such foolish ideas are proper to be a cause of affliction to self conceit and pride

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LETTER XC

Grandson Azim, though the produce of the 'toddy'[1] of Mahal[2] is meant for acquiring wealth, it cannot be understood which dishonest 'Kázi' gave you a decision (in favour of selling and drinking 'toddy') You should regard such counsellors, who are the cause of ruin to families, as the enemies of your person and property and as the evil wishers of your present and future lives You should thank the Holy and High God for His bounty that He has bestowed upon you fertile and productive districts and everything cheap and abundant You should consider the protection of the subjects as the source of happiness in this world and in the next world

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1. An innocent drink of the people of Gujarat, Bengal, and other parts of India, obtained from date-trees and palm-trees The Mohemadans are strictly prohibited in the Koran from drinking any intoxicating spirits.

2. I e, Ráj Mahál, a district of Bengal There are many Mahals (lit districts) in different parts of India. Cf Punch Mahal, in Gujarat, Bar Mahal, in the Madras Presidency

Letter addressed to

Amir-ŭl-Umará Sháyasta Khán[1],

Governor of Akabarabad[2]

1659. LETTER XCI.

Faithful friend of auspicious nature, may you live under the protection of the Exalted God I am anxious for you. On Tuesday, the 20th inst of Rabi-ŭl-Awal[3]—

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1. A general of Shah Jehan and (maternal) uncle of Aurungzebe of whom he was a great supporter in Shah Jehan's court He was the son of Asaf Khan, Nur Jehan's brother, after whose death Shah Jehan appointed him his minister 1641 Shah Jehan appointed him governor of Berar in 1638 and governor of Gujarat in 1652 During Shah Jehan's reign he took part in the Deccan War with Aurungzebe who gave him the title of Khan Jehan in 1656 In 1658 his nephew conferred on him the title of Amir-ul-Umara when he came to his side by deserting Shah Jehan and Dara (Cf Introd) He was appointed governor of Agra in the same year At the time of the victory gained over Shuja at Cajwa he was governor of Akbarabad (Agra) acting for Aurungzebe Afterwards Aurungzebe made him viceroy of the Deccan (1659) and ordered him to punish Shivaji At Poona he was surprised, when sleeping at night, by a party of Mahrattas under Shivaji in a marriage procession, and he narrowly escaped death with the loss of some of his fingers. 1663 Then he was recalled from the Deccan by the emperor and made governor of Bengal in place of the late Mir Jŭmlá 1666 Here he subdued the pirates of Arakan in the Bay of Bengal who used to disturb Bengal Here he proved himself to be a great tyrant His name is proverbial in Bengal as a despotic and tyrannous ruler In 1679 he returned from Bengal to Delhi and was appointed governor of Akbarabad (second time) He died in 1694 (Cf Let CXXVIII) His original name was Mirza Mŭrad "He was, without doubt, by his birth and connections, the first subject of the empire, no of the royal blod, and Aurungzebe treated him as such to the end of his life" He was an invaluable coadjutor of Aurungzebe. "He had the reputation of writing the most insinuating letter, and using the most persuasive eloquence, of any man in Hindostan" (Bernier)

2. The favourite and frequent abode of the Mogul emperors, esp , of Akbar who rebuilt the city (Agra) and named it after himself It stands on the Jamna and contains the famous Taj Mahal Cf Let XI

3. The third Mohemadan month. Lit 'the first time of spring or harvest.'

the day of writing this letter to you—Shūja[4], whose lot was defeat, encountered the victorious army which was under the victorious stirrup of this most needy person (i e, Aurungzebe himself) to God Whose name is glorious, and found the return of evil actions in (his) lap, full of his own misfortunes (i e, he was defeated by me) (Couplet) "From whose hand and tongue can come out the responsibility of thanksgiving to God fully (i e, no one in this world thanks God fully for His bounties)?" The details of this great victory[5] (of Cujwá over Shūja) will be written to you afterwards I pursued the cowardly Jasvant Singh[6] who

4 Shah Jehan's second son He was governor of Bengal in his father's time When Shah Jehan fell ill in 1657 he marched upon Delhi with a large army, but was defeated at Bahadurpur, near Benares, by Raja Jai Singh and Suliman Shekuh, Dara's son Afterwards he led an army against Aurungzebe when the latter became emperor, but was defeated at Cujwa, near Allahabad 1659 This is the victory (of Cujwa) mentioned in the letter. Then Shuja fled away to Assam and was pursued there by Muhammad, Aurungzebe's eldest son, and by Mir Jumla, Aurungzebe's general At last he died miserably at Arakan, in Burma 1660 Shuja was a Shiah, a drunkard, and a sensual Mohemadan "He was too much a slave to his pleasures." (Bernier) "He was more discreet, firmer of purpose, and excelled him (Dara) in conduct and address" (Bernier)

5 Aurungzebe was on the point of defeat, but the tables were shortly turned against Shuja through the bravery and presence of mind of Mir Jumla The battle was lost to Shuja through his mistake of dismounting his elephant earlier like Dara at Samugarh The date of the battle (1659) may be found from the following Persian verse 'Shavad fateh mubarak bada' (may the victory be happy)

6 Raja Jasvant Singh (lit the glorious or victorious lion), Maharajah of Marwar, in Rajputana, was a Rajput general of Shah Jehan with whom he was related Along with Kasim Khan he was sent by Dara against Murad and Aurungzebe Had he attacked them soon as they appeared on the opposite bank of the Nurbada, at Dharmatpur, they would have been easily defeated and the course of Indian history would have been quite different He delayed and attacked them after two days, but was defeated and fled away to Marwar chiefly through the baseness and treachery of Kasim Khan and his Mohemadan followers, 1657 For this disgraceful flight the Raja was severely taken to task by his wife. After Dara's defeat at Samugarh (1659) he deserted him and joined Aurungzebe. Before the

had joined the enemy (*i.e.*, Shūjá) last night before the battle; but he fled away and went to Akbarábád. Evidently he has gone to his own native place (*i.e.*, Rájpūtáná). He has suffered a great loss in this world (by being a coward) and will suffer it in the next world (by being an infidel, for he will not enter paradise). On hearing the purport of this royal order, this arm of sovereignty (*i.e.*, Sháyasta Khán) should perform the necessary things for joy and pleasure (*i.e.*, should observe the day of victory as a public festival), and should give thanks to the True Giver of Bounty (*i.e.*, God); and should entirely engage in preserving this province belonging to you (*i.e.*, Akbarábád) Immediately I sent my dear son, Muhammad Sultan Bahádūr[7], in pursuit of this ungrateful man (*i.e.*, Shūjá) I will soon come to Akbarábád.

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fight at Cujwa, near Allahabad, with Shuja, he deserted Aurungzebe and made an attack upon his rear at night, but before Shuja was defeated, he fled away to Marwar through Akbarabad (1659). Shayasta Khan, governor of Akbarabad, was going to poison himself through fear when the Raja came to Agra. Afterwards he was pardoned by Aurungzebe and was again taken into his service. He was made governor of Ahmedabad Then he was sent into the Deccan against Shivaji. Afterwards he was made governor of Cabul where he died in 1676. Maharajah Jasvant Singh, 'one of the greatest Rajahs of Hindostan,' was not of a firm and constant mind and was a traitor. He did not help the fallen Dara owing to the advice and threats of Raja Jai Singh. A letter written to Aurungzebe, concerning the 'Jizeeá' or poll-tax, on the non-Mohemadans, is generally ascribed to Jasvant Singh.

7 Aurungzebe's eldest son, born in 1639. He took part in the battles of Samūgarh (1650) and of Cujwa (1659). It was he who first entered the capital and took possession of it for his father He, along with Mir Jūmla, was sent to Assam in pursuit of Shuja. But after a time he deserted him and went over to his uncle who gave him his daughter in marriage Nevertheless Shuja was totally defeated by Mir Jumla alone and fled away to Arakan. Now the prince saw his mistake and came over to his father's army; but was imprisoned by his father He died in prison at the castle of Gwalior in 1676. He was married to a daughter of the king of Golconda.

Letters addressed to

Umadat-ŭl-Mŭlk (the Best of the Kingdom),

Madár-ŭl-Mahám (the Pivot of State Affairs),

(*i. e.*,) Asad Khán.[1]

1704. LETTER XCII[2].

According to the request of that sacrifice (for me–*i.e.*, Asad Khán), the post of second secretaryship has been given to Sadr-ŭd-Din Muhammad Khan Safavi.[3] Now he should be summoned and be informed of this favour. Till his arrival that good natured man (*i e.*, you) should also examine the ledgers so that the clerks may not have a mischievous power by wickedness, and the business men may not suffer for the closing of the affairs. (Quatrain) "Every one must purify his mind, every one must polish his mirror (*i.e.*, heart). Help those who are distressed, hear that this goblet (*i e.*, this world or life) will give its voice (*i e.*, you will have the reward of your actions in this life)".

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1. Son of Zul Fikár Khan At first he served Shah Jehan. He was second paymaster of Shah Jehan and of Aurungzebe. Aurungzebe appointed him his minister in 1670 after the death of Ja'afar Khan. In 1674 he resigned the ministership, but in 1677 was made prime minister. He was also a general He was sent against Ginji, but failed to take it. He was called 'Umadat-ŭl-Mŭlk' (the Best of the Kingdom) After Aurungzebe's death he served Bahadur Shah and Jehandar Shah He died broken-hearted in the reign of Farukh Shiar, by whom he was arrested, at the age of ninety-four, 1716 He had two sons, one of whom was called Zŭl Fikár Khán, alias Nasrat Jang, and was treacherously put to death by Farukh Shiar Aurungzebe says in his last will to his sons, "There cannot be a better vizier than Amir-ŭl-Umará" (*i e*, Asad Khan, who had received this title from Aurungzebe in 1702). The 'Seir-ŭl-Mŭtakerin' calls him "The last member of that ancient nobility which had conferred so much honour on the empire." Iradat Khan says, "For above 200 years their family had filled the highest offices in the state."

2. In the latter portion of this letter we find Aurungzebe expressing disgust for false saints. Cf Let CVII and CLXIX.

3. Cf. Let. CLXV and CLXVI.

That sacrifice (*i.e.*, you) should write to Khán Jehán Bahádūr[4] (to the effect), "The horse merchants and others are complaining. This is a true tradition that 'Oppression will cause darkness on the day of judgment' Why did you not remember this tradition? Why did you forget death which is near your artery (*i.e*, which is approaching you)? Fear the wrath of God and the punishment of the emperor (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe)[5] (Couplet) 'The mildness of God deals leniently with you; but if you go beyond (the mild treatment) you are disgraced (or punished by Him).'"[6]

That sacrifice (*i.e.*, you) should tell Nasrat Jang (your own son) and inform him that I will send him (as a present) an emerald ring which will not contain (on its collet) all his titles. If he agrees, only the name 'Nasrat Jang' will be engraved on it and then it will be sent to him as a present. (Verse) "Do you know what was engraved on Solomon's ring?[7] There was written in gold on the collet, 'This world passes away.'"

I saw the saint brought into my presence by Rūh Alláh Khán[8] (the Second). He was like a dandy and not like a former true saint On seeing the saint I remembered the advice of Miyán Abdūl Latif[9]—may his holy tomb be

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4. Cf. Let XXVIII

5. Further evidence of Aurungzebe's sense of justice. Cf. Let. XIV

The second portion of the letter seems to have been written not in 1704; because Khan Jehan Bahadur had died in 1697

6. Cf. Let. XLV

7. Solomon the Wise, son of David, a king and prophet of the Jews. Solomon's ring is well known in Persian literature. It was through this ring that he is said to have exercised his power and authority over all men and genii. Once he lost it and consequently lost his kingdom and throne But afterwards it was found and then he recovered his lost kingdom and throne.

8. Cf. Let CXX.

9. Cf Let. XXII.

sanctified—who, one day, spoke to this sinner (*i e.*, Aurungzebe), "You should not visit saints."[10] I said, "If we worldly men engrossed in sins do not perform God's duties by paying the perfect saints a short visit, what will be our case and condition?" He replied, "The prohibition is meant for the saints of the present time who do not follow the ways of the great saints of the past If you pay them a visit, you will be more blind (than before). And this is not good. May God protect you" That sacrifice (*i.e.*, you) should write the saint, "It is ordered by the emperor (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe) that you should obey the order of God and give Him satisfaction. You are free to go wherever you like Henceforth you should not disturb the emperor and me by your visits. You will be given a fixed allowance."

1704 LETTER XCIII[1]

That sacrifice, let it be known to you that this sinner (*i e*, Aurungzebe), who had refused to visit the above-mentioned saint (of Let XCII), has pardoned him by reading true traditions of the doctors of the Mohemadan law. When I thought well (upon this), I found my refusal to visit the saint due to the deceit and deception of the worst passion[2] Otherwise how could I keep my desire (of visiting the saint) under control? (Verse) "Passion is a dragon (*i.e.*, it injures others), how can it die? It lies congealed on account of the want of means (*i e*, passion never dies in a man, whether it remains active or inactive in him)". May God be praised that I have not yielded to passion and

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10 Cf. Let LXXI Aurungzebe's contempt for the assumed sanctity of dervises shews that he was not superstitious.

1 This letter is in continuation of the latter part of the above letter. Here Aurungzebe changes his mind

2 Cf Let CXXXIV

its deception. Especially, to rejoice at the loss of others is an act of passion. That sincere sacrifice (*i.e.*, you) should request the holy saints to pray for (my) good, happiness, and escape from the fetters of passion. The (above-mentioned) saint himself is a virtuous and noble minded Saiyad (a true descendent of the prophet Mahomet). If he prays sincerely (for us) it is good. O God! let me live as a saint, make me die as a saint, and revive me on the day of judgment among the saints[3]. Amen! amen! amen!

LETTER XCIV.

According to the request of that sacrifice (*i.e.*, Asad Khán), Ateek Alláh Khán has been made permanent in his post. For this he must observe many conditions. Firstly, he must every year increase the revenue of (his) district; secondly, he must not practise oppression upon the 'Ahadis'[1] and must not ruin any village; thirdly, he must make free of robbers the boundaries of his own 'faujdári' and make them full of safety, so that travellers, way farers, merchants and 'bipáris'[2] may travel without any anxiety. If he accepts

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3. Cf. Let. LXXI

1. An Indian military corps of the time of the Moguls. They were warranted officers.

'Most clerks of the imperial offices, the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, &c., belonged to this corps. They were called 'Ahadis,' or single men, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders. The word 'Ahadi,' the h of which is the Arabic ح, was spelt in official returns with the Persian ه, so deep rooted, says Badaoni, was Akbar's hatred for everything which was Arabic.'

"For the sake of the convenience of the Ahadis, a separate divan (secretary) and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great Amirs is their chief. Many Ahadis have indeed more than Rs 500 per mensem."

Ain-i-Akbari

2. An Indian word for 'merchants.' Cf. Let. XX

these conditions and acts according to them, he will be given a written document for the post; otherwise, not. When the second Khalif Umar,[3] the Lord of the Believers—may God be pleased with him—appointed, in his 'khilāfat', one the governor of a province, he made some conditions with him. (1) He must not allow the door keeper to have a watch near the door of the court so that people might represent their needs before him without any difficulty. (2) He must spend his time in rendering services to the people of God. (3) He must not ride (but walk on foot, so that people might represent their needs to him). (4) He must not take anything from the royal treasury for himself or for his family[4]. He must follow a profession and (thus) earn his livelihood by lawful means. If he cannot earn it on account of old age or sickness, he might, by the advice of the true believers, take (from the royal treasury) occasionally one or three 'dirams',[5] more than this must not be allowed. (5) He must show (his) courage by dealing out justice to people, and in deciding cases he must not be partial to relatives and friends Many other conditions are also written in chronicles and histories. We, who are the followers of the Khalifs, should try our best according to our ability. O God guide us to the right path, and confer peace upon good and virtuous people.

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3 Umar bin Khattab, one of the four Khalifs after the Prophet—known for his justice and bravery He was one of the favourite companions and father-in-law of Mahomet He ruled for nine years (634-643) as second Khalif after the Prophet He was murdered by a Persian slave named Firūz, 643 It was he who destroyed the old Persian empire The city of Bussora was founded by him.

Khalif means literally 'a follower' or 'successor' (Ar) of Mahomet, then the term came to be applied to the acknowledged head of the Mohemadans both in political and religious matters. Here Aurangzebe claims to be a great advocate of justice

4. Cf Let LI

5. A small coin, worth about two pence

1703. LETTER XCV.[1]

That sacrifice, you should bring to-day Müna'am Khán[2], the deputy of Sháh Álam, who has been also made his minister, into my presence for giving him permission to depart, so that I should acquaint him with particulars about the evil intention of the wicked Akbar[3] who, with the hope of (receiving) help from the Persian Demon of the Forest[4], has stayed in Hirát[5], near Kandahár[6], and through the suggestion of the governor of that province, does not move further, and who is waiting for my death. (Verse) "I did not forget the words of the musician who, at the time of applying his bow to the cups (or pots) which cause danger[7], used to say 'I do not know whether the stone of

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1. The purport of this letter is mentioned by the author of 'Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri'.

2. Cf. Let VII.

3 Aurungzebe's fourth son, born of the daughter of Naváz Khán of Ahmedabád, in 1676. In 1677 he was appointed governor of Malwá, and in 1679, governor of Multan He joined the Rajputs and rebelled against his father. 1680. He marched against his father with a Rajput force under Dúrga Das, but failed in his attempt through Aurungzebe's presence of mind and cunning. Then he went to the Deccan and joined the Mahrattas under Sambhaji, Shivaji's son, at Ráhiri (Cf Let CXI) After a time he started for Persia 1682 There he lived at Garmsir in Khorasan under the protection of Shah Husain Safavi of Persia as his guest and died there in 1706. Thus he died one year earlier than his father as was expected in this letter The very words 'the wicked Akbar' ('Akbar i-Abtar') are also applied by Khafi Khan to this rebel prince Bernier says that Aurungzebe nominated Akbar for his successor 'He was restless, turbulent, arrogant, and mischievous'

4. A contemptuous term for the Persian king Shah Husain of the Safavian dynasty.

5. Cf Let I.

6. Cf. Let I Cf. Sanskrit 'Ghandharva'

7. This refers to a kind of Indian music in which several cups full of water are placed one upon another and then a bow is applied to these pots for producing music. There is most probability and thus danger of these pots being tumbled down.

the sky of destiny (*i.e.*, destiny itself) will break you (*i.e.*, the pots) or me (*i.e.*, the musician) sooner' ".[8] Mūna'am Khán's plan must be nothing but this that he should leave his own son at Cábul[9] with a large army, that he should keep Muhammad Ma'az-ūd-Din Bahádūr[10] at Mūltán[11] with great preparations, and that till the decision of this case, *i.e.*, till the death of this mortal (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe), there should be contentment in peace and in the division of the kingdom.

I tell you as a last advice from me that there have been many ambitious men, who by kindling the fire of warfare, have involved the kingdom into misery, passed their lives in bitterness and died with repentance. One of these men was Dárá the Pompous. Had he listened to the advice of His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) he would not have met with misery and misfortune. It was proper that he should suffer misery (because he did not pay attention to Sháh Jehán's advice). Though ambition gives man rest for a time, it makes him restless (for ever).[12] O God! better the condition of the followers of Mahomet, and have mercy upon them in this world and in the next world.

1706 LETTER XCVI.

I have communicated my devoted servant (*i.e.*, you) the report, sent to me by Amjad Khán, containing the mis-

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8 Aurungzebe says he does not know whether Akbar or he himself would die earlier. He thinks that most probably Akbar will die before him. Here Aurungzebe is compared to the musician and Akbar to the cup.

9 During the time of the Moguls it formed a part of the Indian Empire. Now it belongs to Afghanistan and forms the capital of that country, the Amir of Afghanistan residing there.

10 Cf. Let. LXXIV.

11. A town in the Punjab.

12. Here Aurungzebe seems to forget his own ambition for securing the throne by foul means.

management of the grandsons of the grandees and of the son of Muhammad Mûzaffar Bakhsha. You should write to Muhammad Iaar Khán[1], who is negligent of God like myself, according to my order, for imprisoning the rebels of the capital (*i.e.*, Delhi or Agrá) and for not neglecting, in future, such worldly necessary affairs which are truly religious Though it is not necessary I will also send you the order. (Verse) "You have got eyes, and the world is before you There is no need of the teacher and of the teaching (*i.e*, man must get his experience from the world and not from books)"

I came to know from the letter of a friend that Muhammad A'azam (Aurungzebe's third son) appointed his own servants, on the royal road, to the post of 'dák chauki[2]'. Does he mean to receive the reports of the events (happening in his district)? It is strange that you have not represented to me this case. Possibly the prince is not in his mood (*i.e*, is careless and indifferent to his work). If he is not particular in his work, how will he manage the state affairs which are a sample of the affairs of the court of God (*i.e*, which are religious and divine)[3]? You should write to him to do away with that private (and not of state) invention (of 'dák chauki') which he has introduced, otherwise it will be abolished by force. I ask forgiveness from God for my every crime and turn to Him (for repentance) (Couplet) "We cease speaking This is sufficient for the wise. We cried out whether

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1 Son of Iatimad Khan, grandson of Asaf Khan, a nobleman of the time of Aurungzebe He was appointed governor of Shah Jehan Abad and died in 1696 He was known for his honesty There was another man of the same name, who was also governor of Shah Jehan Abad In 1703 he was made 'faujdar' of Muradabád.

2. Post, police stations from which reports can be carried to him immediately (an Indian term).

3. Cf. Let XII where the prince is represented as idle and passing away his time in hunting. Cf. Let. XXVIII.

there was any one in the village (*I.e.*, a word to the wise is sufficient I have given the prince sufficient advice; now it is for him to act according to it)".

The ring, with an emerald collet, which last night I selected for Kulli Khán, is simple (*i.e.*, not engraved): Now I remember that his title is Chin Kilich Khán[4]. You should write to the head of the jewelry department[5] to call an engraver, to get the ring engraved with all his (Kūlli Khán's) titles and then to send it to the abovementioned Khán

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4 Nizam ul-Mulk, Asaf Jah, his original name being Mir Kamr-ūd-Din He took part in the Deccan War In 1699 he was honoured with the title of Chin Kilich Khan In 1702 he was appointed governor of Bijapur. He distinguished himself in the siege of Wakingarh 1706 Bahádur Sháh made him viceroy of Oude 1707 In 1713 Farukh Shiar conferred on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and appointed him viceroy of the Deccan After the overthrow of the Saiyad brothers he was made vizier to Muhammad Shah After a time he established himself as an independent ruler at Haiderabad in the Deccan. He was sent by Muhammad Shah against the Mahrattas who compelled him to sign a convention at Sironji. 1738. He died in 1748 He was the son of Firuz Jang and the founder of the present Nizam dynasty of Haiderabad He was a great soldier and diplomatist and was respected by every one

5 Javahir Khanah, treasury for precious stones

"His Majesty (*i.e.*, Akbar) appointed for this office an intelligent, trustworthy, clever treasurer, and as his assistants, an experienced clerk, a zealous darogah (superintendent), and also skilful jewellers The foundation therefore of this important department rests upon those four pillars. They classified the jewels, and thus removed the rust of confusion."

Ain-i-Akbari

Then the author (Abūl Fazl) mentions the different kinds of jewels collected in the treasury, namely, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, red and blue 'yakuts,' and pearls

LETTER XCVII.

I read the letter sent to you by Rūh Alláh Khán[1], together with the report. But the letter did not please me. You will send Rūh Alláh Khán the map according to (the request in) his letter Why should I accept your request for keeping Abdūlláh Khán[2] in his post when he has done nothing? But when the above-mentioned Khán (i.e., Rūh Alláh Khán) is his superior, I accede to your request, (because Rūh Alláh Khán will improve Abdūlláh Khán). God gives supplies and provisions to whom He wishes without any calculation Now you should employ him (i.e., Abdūlláh Khán) in some difficult work so that this favour (of keeping him in his post) will not prove costly to us (by his doing something)

You have requested me to favour Ráo Dūlip[3] with a 'jaldū'[4] Had he taken the fortress before your arrival there, it would have been allowable to favour him with a 'jaldū'. When you arrived there, what importance should be attached to Ráo Dūlip? (And consequently he should not be rewarded with a 'jaldū') But after all he should be rewarded with a 'jaldū' for pleasing you or through mere kindness from me.

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1 Cf Let CXX

2 Along with Muhammad Ameen Khan he was sent in 1659 against Jasvant Singh in order to punish him for his treachery In 1669 he was made superintendent of the 'Ghosal Khaneh'

There was another man, bearing the same name, entitled Punni, who served under Abul Hasan of Golconda In 1687 he deserted his master and went over to Aurungzebe

3. Cf Let CLXII and LXXXI

4. A prize given to a military officer for his exploits (a Turkish word).

LETTER XCVIII

This year Ameer Khán[1] sent (me) so late a basket (of mangoes) as a present that many of them were spoiled. You should write him to send me mangoes as soon as possible though I do not want them. (Verse) " O Bedil ![2] avarice is never contented, otherwise most of the things of our livelihood which we use would be useless (i.e., an avaricious man is never contented, because he covets more things than what are really useful to him) "

1698 LETTER XCIX[1].

I condole that devoted servant for the death of Ameer Khán[2] though we must also die. (Verse) " Though the

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1. Cf. Let XVII

2 Abdul Kadir Bedil, a celebrated Persian poet of India He was a Tartar and in his youth served under prince A'azam, Aurungzebe's third son, who one day ordered him to write a panegyric in his praise, but he declined to do so and resigned his service and never afterwards served any one His chief works are 'Muhit-i-A'azam' and 'Ruka'at-i-Bedil.' He died in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah 'Bedil' was the nom-de-plume of this poet The line in the letter is addressed to himself. Cf. Let CLXXVIII.

1 Here we find Aurungzebe giving an order for confiscating the property of an officer who was just dead on the plea that the property was public (Cf Let CXXVIII and CXLVI) It was not good on his part to do so. He cannot be justified in this

" The barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country (i e, India), of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service " Bernier.

Bernier calls it an odious and tyrannical custom which brought the widows and sons of the deceased nobles to misery and wretchedness He mentions two instances of this nature which happened in the time of Shah Jehan. In one of these the emperor was deceived and disappointed by the trick of his deceased noble, Neeknam Khan.

2 Surnamed Mir Miran, son of Khalil Alláh Khán Yazdi, his original name being Meer Khan He was honoured with the title of Ameer

soul remains (in the body) the path of life is not endless (*i.e*, *man is mortal*)" That sacrifice (*i e*, you) should write to the minister of the capital of Láhore[3], who is his (*i e*, your) brother, "You should confiscate the property of the deceased (*i e*, Ameer Khán) with the utmost endeavour so that not only 'nakeer',[4] 'katmeer',[5] 'dámi',[6] and 'dirami'[7], but even a piece of straw is not left. And having also enquired (about his property) cautiously and fully from outsiders, and from his followers and servants by giving them hopes and threats, you should take into your possession whatever you find" Because the property (of Ameer Khán) belongs to the subjects When the king of the time shews, rightly or wrongly, a person more favour

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Khan in 1675 Of Let XVII In 1669 he was made governor of Allahabad. He was governor of Cabul in 1687 where he died in 1698 Aurungzebe was sorry to hear of his death He was a nobleman of high rank in the time of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, and a great favourite of the latter He was honest, sincere and loyal Aurungzebe conferred the title of Ameer Khan on his son after his death

There was another man bearing the same name, Saiyad Ameer Khan, who was governor of Cabul in 1662 and died in 1670

3 The chief town of the Punjab. It was the capital of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab

4 The small white covering over a date stone.

5 The split of a date stone. It also means the dog that followed the seven sleepers in the cave in the time of the Roman Emperor Decius. These two words (4 and 5) are always used together and mean 'the smallest quantity' (of the property)

6 A small coin, 1/40th of a rupee, used in the time of the Moguls, esp, in the time of Akbar. The 'dam' weighs 5 'tanks', it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called 'Paisah,' and also, 'Bahlolі,' now it is known under this name (dam). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date.

"For the purpose of calculation, the 'dam' is divided into twenty-five parts, each of which is called a 'jetal'" Ain-i-Akbari

It was a copper coin.

7 Another small coin, equal to nearly three annas, an ancient silver coin, the shape of which resembled that of a date stone

than what is mentioned necessary in the Koran, the rights of the true believers (i.e., Mohemadans) are done away with During his (i.e., Ameer Khán's) life time, I allowed him this crime[8] (i.e, to enjoy his property) in order to win his heart, (but) now (after his death) why should I not take possession of his property? (Couplet) "I talked much, now I remain silent. I told you many problems; now I am quiet (i.e, I have said enough. Now I do not want to say further)".

LETTER C.

Muhammad Khán[1] has been given an additional title of 'Sadi'.[2] That sacrifice (i e, you) should order the paymaster of the kingdom to register this title in the office records. Mūkhalis Khán[3] will write the superintendent to assist the record keeper. Mūkaram Khán[4] will do what he has to do

1706. LETTER CI.

I gave a turban made of the Yaman[1] cloth to the son[2] of Muhammad Ameen Khán[3]. You should order the super-

8. Here Aurungzebe's notion is peculiar.

1. Son of Saiyad Mūrteza Khan He was appointed 'faujdár' of Mewat in 1693.

2. A title or post given to a military officer, who had *a hundred* horsemen under him Cf Let XVIII

3 Cf Let CXIV.

4. A Nawab, governor of Multan in the time of Aurungzebe. Cf. Let CXXX.

1 A town in Arabia, so called because situated on the *right* side of Arabia.

2. *I e*, Kamr-ūd-Din Khan

3. He was prime minister of Aurungzebe before 1703. In the same year he was given the title of 'Bahadur' for his display of bravery during the siege of Khelná In 1705 he took part in the siege of Vakingarh. In 1706 he was honoured with the title of 'Chin Bahadūr,'

intendent of the jewellery department[4] to send me in the evening two or three turbans with their exact prices. Though it is not a rule to present a turban to a person whose post is lower than that of 'Chehár-Hazári',[5] as he is a boy it matters not to give him such a present for pleasing him His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) also had presented (a turban) to the son[6] of Sadik Khán Bakhashi. (But) H. M. prohibited him from putting on such a turban (given as a present) when he arrived at the age of discretion and grew up to be a man.

LETTER CII.

Devoted servant of (my) court, Hüssain Ali Khán[1] quarrelled with (my) grandson Ma'az-üd-Din Bahádür[2], and without his permission left him and came here The prince complains against him He must be degraded from his post and his 'jághir' must be confiscated in order to set an example to others. (Couplet) "Much endurance will make people lose their dignity. When a bow is bent (often) it becomes soft and delicate (i.e., as the bow becomes useless when it is bent often, similarly a man loses his dignity when he is insulted often)" I take refuge in God from the viles and temptations of passions and evil deeds.

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4. Cf. Let. XCVI.

5. Cf. Let XVIII

6. i.e., Ja'afar Khán. Cf. Let CXII

1. Second son of Allah Wardi Khán, a nobleman of high rank who served under Aurungzebe, and died 1686, a day after the fort of Bijapur was taken In the same year (1686) he had been appointed governor of Berár. In 1682 he was sent against Sambháji.

2. The eldest son of the crown prince (Müazzam). Cf. Let. LXXIV and LXXV.

LETTER CIII.

I read the letter written to that sincere devoted servant (*i.e*, you) by (my) dear son. The prince has requested (you) to add some portion to his fertile 'jághir' of which he is very fond. A portion should be annexed to his 'jághir'. You should write something (more) to my son for pleasing him.

1703 LETTER CIV

That sacrifice, you should think well that the departure of Fateh Alláh Khán[1] to Cábül is most probably not advisable (for the following reasons) (1) he is the master of a large tribe, (2) he is also powerful, (3) he is irritable and talkative. He had been sent along with Rüh Alláh Khán[2] (the Second–as a subordinate at the siege of Parnálá). He treated the above-mentioned Khán (*i.e*, Rüh Alláh Khán) as if the Khán was his subordinate. Notwithstanding the gentility and mild treatment of the Khán and his own inferior post and a few men under him and my emphatic order to obey the above-mentioned Khán, he uttered such harsh and rude words to the Khán that he (*i e*, the Khán) was ashamed and disgraced before people. You should watch the movements of such a man (like Fateh Alláh Khán) who is a 'Seh–Hazári' (*i e*, has 3000 men under him), has got a title of 'Bahádür'[3], goes to such a distant place (*i.e*, Cábül), and is cautious and watchful like Sháh Bahádür[4]. It won't matter if that sincere servant (*i.e.*, you) will think calmly on this movement (of Fateh

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1. Cf Let V and CVIII

2. Son of Ruh Alláh Khan the First. After the death of Mukhalis Khan he was made Bakhashi 1697. He took part in the siege of Sattara and of Parnala 1699. He died in 1704. Cf. Let CXX.

3 Lit. 'Brave' In 1702 he was given this title. Cf. Let. V.

4. *I.e.*, Muazzam. Cf. Let. L

Allah Khán), otherwise it is better to keep him here near us[5].

LETTER CV.

Sincere and devoted servant, Muhammad Ikhalás Ináyat Alláh Khán[1] said (to me) verbally, "The eldest son of sovereignty (*i.e.*, Mŭazzam, the crown prince) has incurred debts, and the pay of the soldiers is in arrears". When he (Mŭazzam), without considering the ability of men, gives them posts and salaries without any reason, and when he gives them presents and shews them favours unreasonably, why should he not incur debts? He knows the Koran by heart, and is an unrivalled learned man. Neither does he remember (the Koranic verse) 'Don't be extravagant in spending money', nor does he read sometimes, through mistake, the commentary on this (verse). (Couplet) "Men have got their eyes, ears, and intellect open. I am confused of their deceit to God (*i.e.*, though men have their eyes, &c., open, I do not see why they are blind to serve God and why they deceive Him)" His secretary is also unknown to me, his native place being Cáshmere[2] An arrangement should be made The secretaryship should be changed (and given to Islám Khán). Islám Khán is not (so) bad (as the present secretary)

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5. But after all he went to Cabul 1704 Cf Let V

1 Cf. Let. CLXIX.

2 A province in the North of India, 'the Garden of India' It was the summer residence of the Mogul emperors At present it is under native rule.

LETTER CVI[1].

Sincere servant, this night Abūl Vafá[2] said, "The materials (i e, carpet and other necessary things) of the worshipping place (of the palace) are worn out and out of use". Other departments are well furnished, and the furniture of this prayer house is worn out. It is far from Mohemadanship (i e, it should not be allowed according to the Mohemadan religion). You should soon order the steward to bring to the knowledge of the superintendent of the prayer house what things are necessary for it. (Verse) "Alas! alas! we came to know about this very late".

LETTER CVII.[1]

The dervish, who was brought before me last night, is illiterate. He seems to be an orthodox devotee It is possible that he is practising hypocrisy Many of his words and actions, one of which was the refutation of (the doctrine of) charity, were contrary to religion The king of the time is the trustee of the royal treasury What he gives to others (in charity, from the treasury) is legal. It is also lawful on his part, if he gives away in charity the revenue obtained from villages which have been selected by him for his private expenses after the decision of the religious men and the consultation of the nobles of the kingdom Especially when some portion is given in cha-

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1 Here we find Aurungzebe as a devout and religious Mohemadan Cf. Let. CLXXIV and LXXXVIII

2 Meer Abul Vafa, grandson of Zeia-ūd-Din Khán, was appointed superintendent of the worshipping place in 1703 He was a very clever and witty man Once he deciphered the enigmatical writing in a letter of prince Muazzam to Aurungzebe which no one could explain. For this he was rewarded and honoured by the emperor

1. Cf. Let. XCII, CLXIX and LXX VIII.

rity, from this income, to the helpless dervishes, how can it be said to be unlawful? You should ask him the reason his speaking against charity If he gives a reasonable answer, you should say to him 'This sinner (i e, Aurungzebe) has also a reason for practising charity'. Otherwise (i e., if he does not give a sound reason), you should punish him like heretics, who fabricate something and attribute it to religion. Sûltán Mahmûd[2]–may God forgive his crimes–did not allow half-hearted religious men and heretics to enter his court, nay not even his kingdom, so that other people might not be misled by seeing such persons in the form of the (above-mentioned) dervish, and they themselves might have no power to mislead others O God! guide us to the right path, and may peace be upon those who resign themselves to Thee and submit to Thee.

1704. LETTER CVIII.

Sincere and devoted servant, (my eldest son) has complained against Fateh Alláh Khán[1]. At the time of the departure of the above-mentioned Khán (to Cábûl) I knew that the company of this presumptuous Khán would not suit the prince (i.e, Mûazzam). But what can I do? I was forced by my son to send the Khán to him He insisted upon my satisfying his wish (to send the Khán to him). Fateh Alláh Khán should be deprived of his personal title of 'Pán-Sadi' and of three hundred of his followers, and a

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2. The greatest king of the Ghaznavi dynasty of Afghanistan, son of Sabûktgin, born in 967 and died in 1030 He invaded India twelve times, and during his last expedition destroyed the famous temple of Somnáth in Gujarat. He is known as 'Bût-Shekan' (iconoclast) and was a great patron of Persian literature The great epic poet of Persia, Firdûsi, who wrote the immortal 'Sháh Nameh,' flourished in his time The great Persian historian, Al Birûni, was also his contemporary Mahmud ruled for 33 years (997-1030) He was a fanatical ruler like Aurungzebe

1 Cf. Let. CIV and V

notification of this deprivation together with the deprivation of his title of 'Bahádūr'[2] should be sent to the second record keeper. According to my order, you should write to that most talkative person (i e, the Khán) "Does faithfulness mean injuring the feelings of the prince and displeasing the heir-apparent by boasting that he is under your obligation by your service? This is the way of mean persons and not of those who sacrifice their lives for the sake of honour You should please me by your service to the prince, and (thus) through his request you will get an additional title" Now it is proper if he repents of his former deeds. You should communicate to him this order and request the prince to shew him favour

This fortress[3], if God wishes, will be shortly taken But (now) it is necessary to think about the devilish Santá.[4] You should write importunately to Khán Firūz Jang to punish that man, worthy of being kicked (i e., Santá), and to stop his hand of boldness before his attack. (Verse) "A foresighted man is auspicious".[5]

LETTER CIX.

Mūna'am Khán[1] did not perform this work well. He did not discharge his duty as he ought to have done He is inexperienced and talks nonsense He should be instructed (in working and talking) and should be punished by degrading him his post But I myself (i e, Aurung-

2 Cf Let CIV

3. *I e* Jinji This last portion forms quite a separate letter, because Santan died in 1698

4. Cf. Let XVIII and LXV

5. Cf Let LIV

1 Cf. Let. VII

zebe) want to be instructed. (Verse) "I have become old, confused, and misled."

Abū Násir Khán[2] has revolted in Láhore[3] and has harassed the people there. Either his head of safety might be itching (i e, he might be endangering his life) or he might have found the kingdom without the king. You should write to the paymaster and inquire of him about his post and title, and in the evening or to-morrow you should inform me of this so that he may be brought to his senses by degrading him his post (Couplet) "When asses go astray, they should be beaten with sticks in the hand (in order to bring them to the right path)"

Zabar Dast Khán[4] is a soldier and better than his father in state affairs. Having exercised his own authority in the capital of Lahore, he punished most of the rebels of the city and of its surroundings, and destroyed their houses. According to (my) order, you should write him a letter of congratulation and commendation, and get prepared a robe of honour for (giving) him (Verse) "The pleasing good news makes work done soon".

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2. Cf. Let IV

3 "In ancient astronomical tables it is recorded as Loháwar . as it was on several occasions the seat of government, many splendid buildings have been erected and delightful gardens have lent it additional beauty. It is the resort of people of all countries whose manufactures present an astonishing display and it is beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent.

"Whether Lahore be the ancient Bucephala, I do not pretend to determine' Ain-i-Akbari.

Cf Let XCIX

4 He was sent along with Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan to the Deccan to punish Shivaji (1664). Before 1699 he was appointed governor of Udeh, and before 1701, governor of the Punjab Cf Let CXXXVIII.

LETTER CX.

Sincere and devoted servant, you should take the foolish Kám Bakhsha[1] to the house of Muhammad A'azam Sháh[1], and reconcile each to the other with an apology. (Verse) "The world is not a property worth a quarrel (i e., one should not quarrel with another for the possession of the world, because he has to go to the next world empty handed, without having any thing of the world with him)".[2]

1689 LETTER CXI.

You should write Mûkarab Khán[1], who has been appointed to take Barnálá[2], according to (my) order, to arrest the 'Zamindar'[3] of that place. You should write him earnestly to go immediately to attack the Landlord at the time when the proud Landlord has gone alone from

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1 Two sons of Aurungzebe who quarrelled with each other Cf. Let. LXXIII and VIII

2. Here Aurungzebe seems to forget his own quarrel with his father and brothers for the sake of the throne

1. Otherwise called Sheikh Nizam Haiderabadi, who deserted his master Abûl Hasan at the siege of Golconda and entered Aurungzebe's service 1687. In 1688 he laid siege to the fort of Barnala and in 1689 captured Sambhaji and his son Sahu For this service he was rewarded with the title of Khan Zemán Fateh Jang He had a son called Ikhalás Khan Elphinstone and Duff call him 'Tokarrab Khan, the Mogul officer at Colapûr'

2. Cf. Let. XLIII

3. Lit. Landlord (Pers.), its Indian equivalent being 'Desai' Here the word is used for the licentious Sambhaji, a son of Shivaji Sambhaji ruled for nine years from 1680 to 1689 In 1689 Aurungzebe put him to a cruel death. He was an unworthy son and successor to his father

Rahbari[4] to the fortress of Khalneh[5] in order to quarrel with the tribe of Bargi Most probably the Khan will be able to arrest the 'Zamindár[6]' and will take revenge upon the misleader and oppressor of the Mohemadans (i e, the Landlord). May God forgive us What can the Khán do? God does what he does, and it is God Who punishes men for their deeds

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LETTER CXII

That devoted servant, to-morrow you should go to (my special) garden and enjoy the pleasure of the 'gūl-dasteh'.[1] The guards of the garden, consisting of the followers and other persons who will accompany you to-day (for shewing you the garden), will try their best to please and satisfy you to the utmost (Couplet) "When you become his (i.e., when you be a faithful servant of your master), all the property (of your master) becomes yours (i e., belongs to you, is at your disposal). When you turn away from him (i.e., when you prove faithless to your master), all the property (of your master) turns away from you (i e, does not belong to you and you are deprived of its use)".[2]

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4 Rahiri or Rairee, a fort in the Konkan, where Akbar, Aurungzebe's son, lived for a time, as a guest of Sambhaji Cf Let XCV It was built by Shivaji in 1662. Afterwards he changed it into Raigarh and made it his capital.

5 A fort of Sambhaji about 60 miles N W of Kolapur, now called Vishalgadh, taken by Aurungzebe in 1703. It was taken by Shivaji in 1659 and was changed by him into Vishalgadh.

6 The Khan succeeded in capturing Sambhaji, Kalisa, his favourite, and Sanū, his son, near Khalneh when they were bathing in a river.

1 A beautiful structure, in the middle of the garden, in the form of a *bouquet* (Pers).

2. Here the line is repeated twice In the first hemistich the Persian word 'gashtan' means 'to become,' while in the second it means 'to turn away from.' These beautiful lines were composed by Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the great Sufi poet of Persia.

LETTER CXIII.

Devoted servant of the court, prince A'azam has arrived (here). Muhammad Kám Bakhsha should go to receive him. You should write to the nobles (to receive him) whose names had been verbally mentioned to you.

1695. LETTFR CXIV

Devoted servant of the court, Mükhalis Khán[1] is ill You should go to the Khán and pay him a visit and inquire after his health on my behalf Such persons (like Mükhalis Khán) are worthy of being remembered. His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) liked much his manner of addressing him. It is right that he possesses the necessary qualities of honesty and faithfulness May God cure him To-day his son is not come Where is he and what is he doing? He should not be allowed to act according to his own way You should take care after him. He has learnt by heart some chapters of the Koran. It should not be that he should forget them

I have sent to (my) devoted servant (i e., you) the original account of the undertaking of Kásim Khán[2], with

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1. At first he served Shah Jehan During Aurungzebe's time he was appointed governor of the Deccan Then he was made joint administrator of Bengal Cf Let CLVI

2 Muhammad Kasim Khan-i-Kirmáni, a very brave general of Aurungzebe He was successively made 'faujdar' of Haiderabad and of Bijapur Karnatic He was sent to punish Santaji who was plundering the province of Aduni in the Karnatic, but was defeated at Danderi and his men were deprived of their arms and clothes After this, he committed suicide in order to escape from disgrace. 1693. In 1678 he was Mutsaddi of Surat.

There was another man bearing the same name, called Muhammad Kasim Khán, who was governor of Muradabád and who was killed in a fight with Shuja 1659. It was through his treachery and baseness that the battle at Dharmatpur (1657) was lost to Jasvant Singh.

regard to the conquest of the fortress of Chanchi[3], sent to me by Muhammad Kám Bakhsha[4]. You should inquire whether this account of Kásim Khán's undertaking is correct or is meant to be the cause of the breaking of your heart. How many things are there which the people of the world, for selfishness, will not do, and how many rifts are there which they will not make right for fear lest they do not have their own work done? (*I e*, the people of the world, owing to their selfish desires, say anything they like, and for serving their own purpose, do anything they like). What is better than this, *i e.*, Kásim Khán's capturing the shameless Ráma[5] and taking his fortress (Chanchi)?

Sirdár Khán is also an old servant. He is not bad. He should be made permanent in his post

3 Gingi or Jinji, a celebrated strong fortress in the Karnatic, eighty miles S W of Madras It was taken by Shivaji in 1677 from the Bijapur government It was besieged by Zul Fikar Khan (1691) who was afterwards joined by Asad Khan and Kam Bakhsha (1694) Santaji Gorepary defended the fortress bravely Kam Bakhsha was on the point of joining the enemy when he was imprisoned by Asad Khan and Zul Fikar Khan Cf Let, CLXXIV Zul Fikar Khan was recalled and Asad Khan and Kam Bakhsha were left there 1694 Meanwhile Kam Bakhsha had been released at Aurungzebe's order Asad Khan and Kam Bakhsha failed to take the fortress Therefore they were recalled and Zul Fikar Khan vas again sent there in 1696 who at last took the fortress in 1698. Cf Let CXVI. After this it was named Nasratgadh.

4. Cf Let LXXIII

5 Raja Ram, second son of Shivaji by Soyera Bai, who came to the throne in 1680 after Shivaji's death, but was deposed and confined by Sambhaji, his half-brother. After Sambhaji's death he became king (1689) and established his court at Jinji in which he fortified himself against the Moguls and waged war against Aurungzebe. Before Jinji fell to Zul Fikar Khan (1698) he escaped from the fortress through the connivance of the Khan. Cf Let CXVI Then he was pursued by the Moguls to Singarh where he died of exhaustion in 1700, one month before the fall of Sattara The celebrated Tara Bai was his eldest wife. The ruin of Santaji Goreparay was a stain on his character He was of a mild disposition He had two sons Shivaji and Sambhaji. Shivaji, Tara Bai's son, came to the throne after the death of his father. 1700.

LETTER CXV.

Devoted servant of the court, to-morrow the arrival of the prince Sháh Álam Bahádūr[1] has been fixed. The chief of the kingdom and other people, with an army, should go to receive him and they should please me with great ceremony. (Couplet) " Happy is the time ; because a friend (i.e , Aurungzebe) enjoys the company of the other friend (i.e., Sháh Álam Bahádūr)".[2]

1698. LETTER CXVI.

Sincere and devoted servant, there is no need for the secretary to write the letter 'ain',[1] on his application. This 'ain' of disease[2] should not be used in a petition. The letter 'mim' representing 'mūatebar' (i.e , confidential) used by Ináyat Alláh Khán[3] will be sufficient (on the application). According to my opinion, the words 'according to my order' are also superfluous in royal mandates.

It is well known that the first origin of tyranny in the world was small , (but) as each man came into the world one after another, he added to it, so that (in the end) it reached such an extremity. You should inform Abráhim Khán[4],

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1 I e Muazzam Cf Let. I

2 Cf Let X

1 A letter of the Persian alphabet, beginning the word 'arizeh,' a petition

2. Or, 'this essence of disease', a pun upon the word 'ain'.

3 Cf Let LVI, LXXI and CLXIX

4 Son of Amir-ūl-Umara Ali Mardan Khan. He was gradually raised to the governorship of Cashmere, Lahore, Bengal, Gujarat and Cabul. He was honoured with the rank of 5000 in 1659 and died in the reign of Bahadur Shah Cf Let CXIX and CXVIII

There was another man of the same name who was a general in the army of Abul Hasan, last king of Golconda. During the siege of Golconda he deserted his master and went over to the side of Aurungzebe (1686) who made him governor of Lahore in 1688.

who does not decide the cases of the 'Cázis and of other people of Cáshmere, that he has been degraded from his post. (Verse) "A stone is (a sort of) retaliation on an aperture in a fortified wall (i.e., when a stone is thrown from outside at an aperture, there is no wrong in a stone being thrown outside from within the aperture, i.e., tit for tat)".

God be praised that Chanchi has been taken and that the accursed Rámá has fled away[5]. It was not very difficult to capture him, but on account of the negligence of (my) old officers (like Zúl Fikár Khán) he has fled away. For a time the shop (or market) of my officers, fit for dulness, became active (i.e., my officers who were generally dull became active for a time with a view to catch hold of Rámá). These officers should be told to eat the world before they are eaten up by the world (i.e., to enjoy the world before they die—said ironically)

1698. LETTER CXVII.

Devoted servant of the court, why does Iaar Ali Beg consider it right to live in such miserable and straightened circumstances? He has not come across the prohibition of such a way of living (in the Koran) and he himself has got the post of 'vakilship'. Why does he not act according to (the Koranic verse) 'Eat and drink'?[1] Why does he bring me and himself under the taunt of the people? Man must be agreeable to every tribe But what can he do? because this does not suit his nature (i.e., he is not agreeable to every tribe) (Verse) "Fortune is not acquired by the strength of one's arm till it is given to one by the Generous God".

5. Cf. Let. CXIV.

1. Here Aurungzebe seems to be a great epicurean. Cf. Let. X.

His Majesty (i e, Sháh Jehán) was very fond of giving freshness to the garden Hayát Bakhsha (lit. life-giving) and other places situated in the palace of the capital, by adorning them with trees, and by rearing up fruit-trees, and by cleaning ponds and reservoirs, and by looking after plants and trees This traveller (in this world—i e, Aurungzebe himself) used to enjoy them till his stay in the capital (i.e, Sháh Jehán Ábád) ended It is better if Muhammad Jaar Khán[2] goes to the gardens daily and tries his best to keep them clean and fresh Henceforth it is necessary that you should go to the gardens once a day and engage yourself, with great care, in repairing the buildings of the fort and of the gardens. You should write to me about the condition of all the gardens and buildings of the forts of Mūbárak, Sáhib-ábád, Aazá-ábád, Nūr-bári, and Saharand-bari which belong to (my) dear and dignified sister, and of other places, with the details of plants and trees, from the time when this traveller (i e, Aurungzebe himself) went out of the capital till now, along with the condition of houses, (and in such a manner) as if I saw them with my own eyes (i e., so vividly), nay, you should send me a map thereof. You should write to me about the conditions of the vine yards, of other gardens below the fortress, and of the garden of Muhasin Khán which is much praised, and about those things about which you may have heard from reliable sources, so that I may come to know the most correct facts and spend money in repairing those ruined places Alas! I have not repaired my broken heart (i.e., I have not repented of my sins), and wasted my life, like children, in play and game (i.e, in pleasure). (Verse) "I spent my life in play and game; alas! alas! alas!" (Couplet) "Alas! life has passed away, and I have no consciousness about myself. Alas! I have no hope of salvation I said (to myself) that when I was awake it was daytime, (but) alas! the day has passed away and there is no conscious-

2. Cf. Let. XCVI.

ness (*i.e.*, the whole day has passed away, but I have not repented of my sins)"[3].

It is irreligious to imprison the plaintiff Both the plaintiff and the defendant must be made free from the power of this suit. You should refer this case to the chief judge[4] so that he may decide it according to the brilliant Mohemadan law and there may be no oppression practised on and partiality shewn to either of them. God be praised, that our 'Cádi' is honest, good, and pious, he does not look on this and that man (*i e*, he is impartial), and in deciding cases he considers the true facts. Let them (*i e.*, the plaintiff and the defendant) be pleased with the decision of the chief judge

Shújá'at Khán[5], the governor of the province of Ahmedábád, has been exalted with an additional title of 'Hazári'

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3. Cf. Let. VII and LXXII

4. "Although the supreme authority and the redress of grievances rests with sovereign monarchs, yet the capacity of a single person is inadequate to the superintendence of the entire administration It is therefore necessary that he should appoint one of his discreet and unbiassed servants as his judiciary delegate I' capacity and vigour are not to be found united, he should appoint two persons, one to investigate whom they call a Cazi, the other Mir Adil to carry out his finding". Bernier

5. Shuja'at Khan, Kártalab, a nobleman in Aurungzebe's service. First he was a 'Mansabdar' of 4000 in Shah Jehan's time Aurungzebe appointed him governor of Ahmedabad. 1684 In 1689 he quelled a mutiny at Ahmedabad For this his firmness Aurungzebe honoured him with the title of Shuja' at Khan He was, before this, governor of Ajmere and Jodhpur. After his death in 1703 Prince A'azam was made governor of Ahmedabad. The Khan was one of the ablest of Gujarat viceroys and was very honest. He 'had so long and ably filled the office of viceroy in a most critical time.' He was a man of great merit and high character and very fortunate throughout his life Aurungzebe had great trust in him and throughout his services he was never found guilty by him From a lower position he raised himself to a very high rank He beautified Ahmedabad by building the college and mosque still known by his name near the Lal Gate. He was the husband of Fakhr-un-Nisa Begum, Cf Let. XXXIII

There were many nobles in Aurungzebe's court bearing the title of Shuja'at Khan.

and with a thousand horsemen. You should communicate this to him. (Verse) "These favours (shewn to the Khán), which you have seen, form only a part of all my favours. The important work (done by him) demands favours from me". If he displays loyalty and self-sacrifice in (performing) the royal affairs and tries his best to punish the rebels and to win over the hearts of the landlords, he will be favoured more and raised to a higher position than this. (Verse) "The ladder of this world is egotism, at length we have to fall down from this ladder (i.e., man is sure to fall down on account of his egotism). He who goes higher is more foolish; his bones will be broken to pieces (i.e., pride goeth before destruction)".

1703. LETTER CXVIII.

Shújá'at Khán[1] is dead. 'We have come from God and to Him we shall return'[2]. He was an experienced man and preserved good order in Gújarát. A governor must be appointed for this province. You should select three persons yourself (for this) and then write to me. Prince A'azam also desires (to be the governor of Ahmedábád)[3]. This post should be given to the prince if he does not attach importance to the royalty and executes his work better than others. We expect grace from God and guidance from Him. In this case (of the governorship of Ahmedábád) there is none more fit for it than Khair Andísh Khán. But they say he is almost blind, and consequently useless. Either he or another should be appointed. Azeek Alláh Khán[4] is not (so) bad. You have stated well the

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1. Cf the last portion of the above letter.

2. A verse in the Koran uttered by Mohemadans at the time of hearing of some one's death.

3. Cf. Let. VIII.

4. Cf. Let. XCIV.

cases of Abráhim Khán[5] and of the Káshmeris of Hafz Alláh Khán, but you have not written in your letter about the consequences (of their governorships) (Couplet) "Pity on his (i.e., Asad Khán's) knowledge and manners; his truth-seeing eyes have become blind (for not representing the cases of Abráhim Khán and of Hafz Alláh Khán in a proper way to Aurungzebe)" What do you mean by not caring for investigating the truth regarding (one's) honesty? Therefore it is said that one who administers justice and is entrusted with the investigation of truth must possess uprightness so that he may not decide the case either from a confession or from a denial, and may not be negligent in any way in administering justice, and may not be partial to the powerful party Such honest and impartial men were rare in former times also. Where are those persons (i.e., none) in the present time when faith is weak and the devil is strong?[6]

LETTER CXIX.

Abráhim Khán[1] makes great delay in executing orders; (therefore) a thousand horse should be deducted from the number of his followers. You should threaten his agent also. My mildness confounds the state affairs (i.e., makes my officers and servants disobedient) It is true that (Verse) 'Mastership and service do not go together'.

5. Cf. Let. CXVI.

6. Here Aurungzebe deprecates his own times

1. Cf. Let CXVI.

LETTER CXX.

Rūh Alláh Khán[1] has requested me to issue orders in the names of the 'diván'[2] of the Deccan[3] and of the commanders of the garrisons thereof, so that by managing the affairs of the districts of that province he may take into his possession the fiscal properties, 'jághirs', and other effects which have been recently confiscated from the evil-minded

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1. Son of Khalil Allah Khan He was appointed 'faujdar' of Dahámūni in 1673. In 1680 he was made head groom, and in the same year he was made 'Meer Atesh' After the death of Sar Būland Khan he was made 'Meer Bakhshi'. (1680) In 1681 he was made second Bakhshi, and in 1687, first Bakhshi He was present at the siege of Danderi and was sent against Barnala and Sattara In 1691 he took Raichore. He played an active part in the siege of Golconda which city fell into the hands of Aurungzebe chiefly through the trerchery of the Khan. He was the first to enter the fortress by means of ladders at night The date of his death (1692) may be found from the following Persian verse

"Fateh-i-killeh-i-Golcondeh mūbarak bad,
Ruh dar tan-i-mulk namand"

i e., may the (day of the) conquest of the fortress of Golconda be auspicious, *the soul fled away from the body of the kingdom.*

He was a very favourite officer of Aurungzebe whom he served till the time of the Deccan War He was the son-in-law of Shayista Khan and was very cunning and a great flatterer, but at the same time intelligent and sagacious. After his death his son Mir Hasan, entitled Khánzád Khan (1687), who was grand-steward of the emperor's household (1696) and keeper of the privy purse, was also honoured with the title of Ruh Allah Khan (the Second) 1696, and died about 1705. In 1695 he was made 'Meer Atesh;' in 1696, he was appointed governor of Zafarabád, and in 1699, he was made second Bakhshi After his death his son was also given the title of Ruh Allah Khan (the Third) Cf Let. XCII, XCVII, CIV, CXLI and CL.

2. 'This term was especially applied to the head financial minister whether of the state or of a province, being charged in the latter with the collection of the revenue, its remittance to the imperial treasury and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes'

3. Deccan literally means 'the South,' being a corrupted form of Sanskrit 'Dakhashin'. It is so called because it is situated in *the South* of India It is to be distinguished from Hindostan or Northern India which is separated from it by the rivers Narbudda and Tapti.

Masúd Khán, and then he may write to me. Those articles which will be fixed, will be assigned to that officer and treasurer (*i.e.*, Rúh Alláh Khán) You should give him a document for the 'jághir' assigned to him. And you should send him, at the time of necessity, the artillery and necessary things required by him for the entrenchment You should write to him about these things A collector should be appointed so that our 'beel-dárán'[4] may send the treasury to him The letter of the Prince Bahádúr[5], which has been addressed to the above-named Khán, should be handed over to (his) agent, or it should be enclosed with your own letter and (then) be sent to him, but it is better that you write him another letter This man (*i.e.*, Rúh Alláh Khán) is not an officer who has always treated me in one and the same way. All his flattery was for the object of gaining his own ends It is possible that internally he is not sincere You should think about him and then write to me. (Verse) " How can you make yourself a different person by applying paints (and cosmetics to your body)? Though the garment fits the body, it does not form a part of it (*i.e.*, good wine needs no bush)".

LETTER CXXI.

Evidently Zúl Fikár Khán[1] has appointed persons to carry the artillery; (but) it makes Rúh Allah Khán hesitate in the midst of affairs, though it is also a state affair But

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4. Persons appointed to collect money and to carry it to the royal treasury. Lit Pers. 'beel,' a shovel, and 'daran,' keepers, hence, diggers, pioneers in an army.

5. Cf. Let. LXXVI

1. Cf. Let. CLX.

you should write to the above Khán (*i e.*, Rūh Alláh Khán) that he should use the guns for taking the fortress and should not place any confidence in those persons (appointed by Zūl Fikár Khán) till the conquest of the fortress (is completed). I saw the plan, sent by him (*i.e*, Rūh Alláh Khán), of the intrenchment of the fortress. The side for the entrenchment is good, and in many ways, it is better than other sides But from the absence of a ditch (in the plan) it appears that outwardly the ground must be strong. It will be difficult to undermine (this stony ground). Two or three bastions and ramparts must be raised, so that the heavy blows of the firing of the guns will shake the firmness of the besieged and of the walls of the fortress This difficulty must soon be solved. I also issued an order in this matter. I write what is required for this with my own hand and with a great urgency. (Couplet) "With various and different hopes we expect great success and victory" May God forgive

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LETTER CXXII.

From the letters sent by the reporters of the army of (my) grandson, I came to know that the army of Alláh Khán, notwithstanding the approach of the enemy, were engaged in drinking, and he himself did not go to the enemy personally but sent others to punish them, and having gone to the house of Navazesh Khán[1] passed his time, from evening till morn, in drinking and in enjoying the dance. He did not restrain himself from drinking wine notwithstanding the prohibition (enjoined in the Koran) He still per-

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1 Navazesh Khan-i-Rūmi, son of Islám Khan-i-Rūmi, his original name being Mūkhtar Beg He was honoured with the title of Navázesh Khan in 1681 In 1687 he was appointed 'faujdar' and fort-keeper of Mandeswar. In 1705 he was made governor of Cashmere. Cf. Let. XXXIV.

sists in (disobeying) this prohibition (of taking wine). Therefore the reporters for selfish desires attribute many things (*i.e.*, bring charges) to the servants patronised by me. That devoted servant (*i e*, you) should write to the secretary to inquire fully after all the posts (of the Khán) and then to write to me.

LETTER CXXIII.

You should write to Fateh Alláh Khán[1] that his best services have been represented to me in details and they have been appreciated by me, but he should not boast of serving me[2], and he should not displease me by annoying the generals.

LETTER CXXIV.

I read the letter, sent by Mustmand Khán and written by himself with his own seal, containing (the account of) the spoliation of his 'jághir' on account of the locality[1] of the robbers. I have been requested by the Khán to get his buildings repaired and the wicked robbers punished. According to (my) order you should write to Khan Firūz Jang, "As the enemies are many, you should send there (*i.e.*, to Mustmand Khán's 'jaghir') your own son with a large army".

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1. Cf. Let. V.
2. Cf. Let. XLV.

1. The word for it in the text is 'chhávani', an Indian word, meaning also a 'camp'.

1693. LETTER CXXV.

Saiyad Sa'ad Alláh[1] often writes me letters and requests of me the following things "The reporter[2] of the Harbour of Sūrat[3] should not be transferred, the son of the deceased Hakim Asharaf should be given some service in the hospital and should be encouraged by increasing his salary". You should write to the Saiyad, "Henceforth you should not interfere in the affairs of the (government) servants, who are really oppressors, according to the decision of the auspicious verse of the Koran, 'Don't associate with those who oppress lest the fire of hell might catch you' (and so on upto the end of the verse). Though these officials are not tyrants to others, they are oppressors in their own nature". In every letter he expresses his desire,

1. Saiyad Sa'ad Allah Derwish, a Mohemadan saint of Aurungzebe's time, maternal grandson of Sheikh Pir Muhammad Saluni. For thirty-five years he acquired knowledge of every kind from his grandfather. Then he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he lived for twelve years prosecuting his religious studies. Once the 'Sharif' of Mecca disagreed from him on some point, in consequence the Saiyad left Mecca for Surat where he passed his remaining days as a hermit He was maintained and honoured by Aurungzebe. He was very kind to men of every creed He was learned and had great influence over Aurungzebe. The emperor used to correspond with him and had great faith in him. Once he wrote to Aurungzebe by way of recommendation not to transfer the reporter of Sūrat (Bakar Khan) and the doctor of the hospital of Sūrat. 1693. Though Aurungzebe complied with his request he wrote the saint not to further interfere in worldly matters. From that day Aurungzebe discontinued his correspondence with the saint This event is mentioned twice in his history by Khafi Khan who gives the purport of the letter addressed to the Saiyad.

2. *I.e.* Muhammad Bakar.

3. A city in Gujarat, standing on the Tapti, once one of the richest cities in India, plundered twice by Shivaji Formerly it was a great seaport, but has now been superceded by Bombay. In the archives of the Mogul Empire it was called 'the Port' or 'the Harbour'. Shivaji used to call it 'the key of his treasury'.

with a prayer, to die in God[4]. 'Death is also life' is true. This humble servant of the court of God (*i e.*, Aurungzebe himself) always recites in his daily prayer this auspicious verse of the Koran, 'O God' Creator of heaven and earth! Thou art my master in this life as well as in the next, let me die a Moslem (or a true believer in Thee) and enable me to join the virtuous and the pious'. I think carefully over the meaning of 'The man who dies this death (*i e.*, death in God) will meet, before meeting God, the prophets and the saints'[5] Though the learned men of my court have given nice interpretations (of these Koranic and traditional verses and sentences), I have not been perfectly satisfied with them That learned man[6] should write to me about these phrases of the Koran and the tradition after an inquiry. May peace be upon you.

1697. LETTER CXXVI[1].

You must have known that an arrow was darted towards Yákūt (Khán) and that it was found out that it was

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4. *I.e.* to die in devotion to God and then to be united with Him—a Sufistic technical term.

5. From a tradition

6. *I e.* Asad Khan who was a very learned man.

1. This fact is mentioned by Kháfi Khan in his history. Yakut Khan, entitled Mūharam Khan, who was in the service of prince Kam Bakhsha as his chamberlain and whom the prince did not like as being of an evil temper, was wounded by an arrow by a companion of the prince when he was leaving the royal court after the prince. For this five of the companions of the prince were imprisoned One of them, named Hadu, foster brother of the prince, was convicted and ordered to be separated from the prince. But the prince did not like separation from his foster brother and surrendering him to the 'kotwál'. Hamid-ūd-Din Khan Bahádūr (cf Let. CLXVIII) was ordered to separate Hadu from the prince. The Khan (Hamid) was wounded by the prince, but at length was successful in imprisoning his foster brother. 1697.

that unfortunate foster brother (i. e., Hadū) of Kám Bakhsha[2] who had darted the arrow. I punished the man who had darted the arrow and separated him from the foolish prince. I ordered what was to be done with that wicked person (i. e., Hadū) who was the worst companion[3] of the prince. He who has Satan as his companion has truly selected a bad companion. (Verse) "The company of the wicked is dangerous like fire. When the fire is hot it burns the body, but when it is extinguished it makes the coat black (similarly an evil companion first annoys his friend and then blackens his character)".[4] By the bad omen of Hadū's company the prince has been misled. Some 'chilás'[5] should be appointed to keep a watch over him round his tent. And you should inform me about him.

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2. Muhammad Kam Bakhsha. Cf. Let. LXXIII.

3. The words 'the wost companion'—'bais-al-kareen'—occur in the Koran and mean Satan. This phrase, either accidentally or intentionally, occurs also in 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri'.

4. From a strange coincidence Kháfi Khan uses the same verse in connection with this event and says the prince was spoiled by bad company. This event is also referred to by the author of 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri'.

5 Persons appointed to keep watch over those with whom the king was angry, an Indian word.

"His Majesty (i e, Akbar), from religious motives, dislikes the name 'bandeh' or slave. He therefore calls this class of men 'chilás', which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple (cf. Ar 'múrid'). The pay of chilas varies from one rupee to one pence per diem. H.M. has divided them into several sections, and has handed them over to active and experienced people, who give them instruction in several things. Thus they acquire knowledge, elevate their position, and learn to perform their duties with propriety".

Ain-i-Akbari.

LETTER CXXVII.

Khán Jehán Bahádúr[1], notwithstanding his previous activity, displayed inactivity in this affair like old officers. When I reprehended about this his negligence he requested me to forgive him But he has not improved. All this ruin (of our affairs) is to be attributed to his insincerity. How should it not be that there is no act worse than insincerity (i.e., insincerity is the worst act)? Truly, 'The hypocrites are in the lowest pit of hell'[2]. You should write him something for his forgiveness and should suggest to him this (Koranic) verse so that his eyes may be opened and he be warned against insincerity. Though it is impossible that the inward enemy (i.e, passion) should be strong, your greatest enemy is passion between your two sides (i.e., in your heart). Why do you allow this passion to really overcome you? O God! release us from the fetters of passion and let us not die in its bondage. (Couplet) "Man received favour from God which was His first favour.[3] Whatever is shewn by God seeks after the misguided (i.e., God shews mercy and favour to the misguided) Blessing and its acceptance are from Thee, security and fear are (also) from Thee".

1694. LETTER CXXVIII.

Amir-ūl-Umará[1] is dead. He was one of the old servants. 'We have come from God and to Him we shall

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1 Cf. Let. XXVIII.

2. A Koranic verse

3. Of being endowed with the soul before his existence.

1 I.e. Sháyasta Khan. Cf. Let XCI Aurungzebe was greatly obliged to him for the possession of the throne After the Khan's death Asad Khan was honoured with the title of Amir-ul-Umara. Cf. Introduction.

return'[2] He also possessed property. You should write to the finance minister of his province to confiscate his property with great caution and to take into possession as royal property every kind of thing obtainable from his servants with force and strictness[3]. You should make the secretary of the deceased (*i e.*, Mūrlidhar) understand that he will be favoured for his good service. You should inform me of the condition of the sons of the deceased.[4] I have also spoken to another person about this matter, but with the thought of looking after his relatives I have appointed, a second time, that devoted servant (*i.e*, you) to this affair. Certainly you will display your worthy quality with truth and sincerity. Amán Alláh Khán[5] is not unsuitable for this work (*i e.*, for governing the province *of the deceased). (Therefore) he should be appointed to* (this post) You should inform me about his titles so that they may be increased. I intend shewing him another favour shortly.

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2. Cf. Let. CXVIII.

3. Cf. Let XCIX and CXLVI

4. Cf. Let. XXXVIII.

The Khan's eldest son, Abūl Fa'eh Khan, was killed at Pooná during Shivaji's attack on that city. 1663.

Another elder son, Umeed Khan, who was governor of Bihar, died soon after his father 1695.

His three sons, Aitekad Khan, Abul Ma'ali, and Khodá Bandeh Khan, survived him

5. There were many men bearing this name. One of them was present at the sieges of Torna, Rajgarh, Purandhar, Singarh, Parnálla and Vishalgarh. 1701–1704 Another man, called Hafiz Aman Allah Khan of Benares, was an author and 'kadi' of Lucknow and died in 1721. There was a third man of the same name who was 'faujdar' of Gwalior and was killed at the siege of Bijapur. 1686.

LETTER CXXIX.

This office has been fixed on Usaf Khan[1]. The person selected by you (for this office) is also good, but he is a soldier. His business is not known. You should inform me of what you know about him. I am in need of an honest person for the ministership of Burhánpür[2]. 'The most important work should be taken first'[3].

LETTER CXX.

What is Mükaram Khán[1] doing? Notwithstanding his desire of (going to) a pilgrimage to the two sacred cities[2], why is he delaying? What is better than this (*i.e.*, pilgrimage)?[3] (Couplet) "Pilgrimage to the Lord of the House (*i e*, the temple of Mecca) is good, but pilgrimage is to visit the temple of Mecca (*i.e.*, pilgrims visiting Mecca search after the temple, but really they should search after God)".

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1 Before 1705 he was fort-keeper of Kamrnagar In 1705 he took part in the siege of Vakingadh In 1706 he was appointed 'faujdar' of Imtiyazgadh

2 A city in Central India It was founded and named after Bürhan-üd-Din, a celebrated Mohemadan saint of the Deccan, in the fourteenth century It became the Mohemadan capital of Khandesh It stands on the Bhema It formed the head quarters of Aurangzebe during the Deccan War.

3. An Arabic proverb

1. Cf Let. C.

2 *I e*, Mecca and Medina, in Arabia.

3 The author of 'Mir-At-i-Alam' says "Although on account of several obstacles, he (*i e*, Aurungzebe) is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage."

LETTER CXXXI.

The presents sent by (my) grandson Bahádúr[1] should be accepted (by you). But before doing this you should tell his agent not to send presents without (previous) information. May peace be upon you.

LETTER CXXXII

Múrshid Ali Khán is a revenue collector,[1] and he is also not devoid of honesty. If this work is offered to him, possibly he will perform it better than others You should ask him (about this work) on your own behalf. That old servant (*i e*, you) must have heard the case of Fazl Ali Khán[2]. An army should be sent to punish the turbulent 'Kazal-báshán'[3] What is Khán Bahádúr Hamid[4] doing? This sinner (*i.e*, Aurungzebe) wishes that no crime, especially oppression[5], should be perpetrated, the result will be

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1. Cf Let XI and LXXVI

1 "The collector of the revenue should be a friend of the agriculturist Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord paramount and establish himself where one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers, and evil-doers He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money and recover them gradually He should strive to bring waste lands into cultivation and take heed that what is in cultivation fall not waste. He should stimulate the increase of valuable produce and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation He shall not make the occasions of journeying, feasting or mourning an opportunity for exactions, and refrain from accepting presents." Ain-i-Akbari.

2. In 1699 he was appointed minister of Multan

3. The flower of the Persian army, raised by Shah Abbás. Turkish 'kazal,' red and 'bash,' the head or a cap, so called because they used to put on red caps. 'An' is a Persian plural termination.

4. Cf Let. CLXVIII.

5 Here Aurungzebe strongly condemns oppression for the advocacy of justice. Cf. Let. XIV and LXXXVIII.

that there will be order and peace in the kingdom. Kingship is not maintained without discipline. Sometimes orders appropriate to the occasion are issued through the force of passion and without volition. You should ask the opinion of the learned about this May God be praised that your intention is good. You will not be punished by God. Truly, 'Man's action will depend upon his intention'.[6] This tradition is correct, convincing and authoritative

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1692. LETTER CXXXIII.

Khájeh Abdür Rahim[1] died He was religious and pious and was very brave. One day he was standing in my presence with a country-made dagger hanging from his waist. I liked the dagger and said, "Its make is very fine". He replied, "Its name is better than its make" I asked, "What's that"? He replied, "Ráfiz-i-Kūsh"[2]. I observed, "I also want to get three or four daggers prepared of the same make and name for the state". He took out the dagger from his waist, presented it to me, and said, "Till they are prepared, this humble present will be exalted in the state". Then he took leave and departed. You should write to me about the condition of his sons[3] or tell Ináyat Alláh Khán to write to me so that each may be favoured according to his merit.

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6 From a tradition.

1. Son of Abdul Kásim He was a native of Farghána, in Afghanistan, came to India in the reign of Shah Jehan and served under Aurungzebe for several years He died in 1692

2 Lit 'the Killer of the Shiahs.' 'Rafiz' means in Arabic 'a deserter' The Shiahs are the Persian Mohemadans who follow Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet. Aurungzebe was a Sunni.

3. Cf. Let. CXXVIII.

1697. LETTER CXXXIV.

Khán Jehán Bahádūr[1] died. 'We have come from God and to Him we shall return.' God is holy. How very negligent is man? How long will he be overpowered by passion?[2] At this time the Khán was desiring (to get) the governorship of the Deccan How intensely was he anxious about it? Yes, the work of passion is worse than this. (Verses) "To destroy passion is not the business of wisdom (*i.e.*, wisdom is overpowered by passion) The internal lion (*i e.*, passion) is not a plaything for the hare (*i.e*, wisdom). Passion devoured the whole world and swallowed it Its belly was crying, 'Is there any more (infidel)'?[3] This passion is hell and hell is a dragon, before which (the wide expanse of) the ocean is nothing. Passion swallows up the seven seas and yet this world-burning passion cannot quench its thirst (Men useless like) stones (*i e.*, sinners) and stony-hearted infidels enter hell with shame and disgrace Yet hell is not satisfied with so much food (*i e*, sinners and infidels) till this voice comes from God in response to its desire (of devouring more victims), 'Are you satisfied'? Hell replies, 'Am I satisfied? No, I am not yet. Look at my fire, heat, and sensation (*i e*, I am still burning with the desire of having more victims)'. God stretches forth His leg to hell from 'Lá Makán'.[4] At this time hell is satisfied with 'kūn-fi-

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1. Cf. Let. XXVIII and CXXVII.

2. Cf. Let. XCII.

3 A passage from the Koran—words supposed to be uttered by hell which is here personified, on the day of resurrection As hell is never satisfied with its victims (*i e*, sinners and infidels) and cries for more, similarly passion is never satisfied with its victims (*i e* the weak-willed) and cries for more. Here passion is compared to hell.

4. Lit. 'World of *non-space*,' the highest mansion of God which even the angels cannot reach This word occurs in the Koran in reference to Mahomet's nightly journey to heaven.

'Kon'.[5] As this our passion forms a part of hell, (and) parts always possess the effect of the whole (consequently passion has the effect of hell). None but God can imagine the insatiable appetite of hell I pray for strength to the Ocean-splitting (*i e*, Powerful and Great) God in order to remove (or dig out) the Mount Caucasus with a needle".[6] May the High God favour us with (His) grace and relieve us from this dark day (*i e*, passion) I conjure Him by the name of Mahomet the Prophet and of his family. May the blessings and peace of God be upon Mahomet.

1706. LETTER CXXXV

I read the letter sent by Nasrat Jang[1] to you In this letter he has recommended Dáūd Khán[2] and mentioned his

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5. *I e*, the whole world, lit 'be, and it was' These words occur in the Koran in reference to the world's creation It is said God created the whole world by uttering the word 'kūn,' 'be' Cf the very first chapter of the Genesis in the Old Testament of the Bible

This is a question of Mohemadan theology. It is said in the Koran that when hell will cry for more and more victims on the day of resurrection, God will put His foot on the border of hell Then hell will be satiated and will not require more victims thenceforth.

6 A Sufistic belief A somewhat similar idea is expressed in the New Testament of the Bible by Matthew where Christ says if we have faith as slight as a mustard seed we can remove a mountain from its place.

1 Cf Let XVI

2. A general of Aurungzebe. There were many generals bearing this name. One of them was called Daud Khan Kūreshi who was appointed governor of Allahabad by Aurungzebe in 1670.

There was another more celebrated general, bearing the same name, called Daud Khan Panni, mentioned here. This Panni was a Pathan general of Aurungzebe, renowned throughout India for his extraordinary courage, and his memory still survives in Deccan tales and proverbs. He served for many years under Aurungzebe He was present at the siege of Vakingarh. 1706. In place of Zūl Fikár Khán he was made viceroy of the Deccan by Bahadur Shah 1708 He was slain in the battle against Saiyad Hūsain Ali in the time of Farukh Siar, 1715 Cf. Let. CLXVIII.

own services. Something should be written in reply. (But) we should wait for the conquest of the fortress (i.e., Vákingarh). After the conquest some of his requests should be granted; but before that, the granting of his requests is impossible. Henceforth for capturing the fortress you should order Tarbiat Khán[3] to send all the necessary things. And you should also write to the garrison of the fortress of that side to send the artillery consisting of 'jazáyars',[4] 'rám-jangis'[4], bullets, and gunpowder to the army of Nasrat Jang. Authority lies in the hands of the Powerful and Unique God, He does what He wills.

1704. LETTER CXXXVI.

It was clear from the letter of Sipáhdár Khán[1] that he had punished Mahábat Khán.[2] Thanks to the Almighty for this. He should be given, in addition, a personal title of 'Hazári' and a thousand followers A robe of honour, a sword, a horse and an elephant should be sent to him. It should also be arranged to bestow additional titles on his followers. He should be gladdened with this good news. His agent should also be favoured if it is necessary. God is the best master and best agent for us.

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3. Cf Let. CXLIII.

4 Cf Let. LXXXIV.

1 Second son of Khan Jehan Bahadur, the foster brother of Aurangzebe. (Cf. Let XXVIII) In 1687 he was appointed governor of Lahore. He was raised to the rank of 3000 in 1691. In 1695 he was made governor of Allahabad. In 1704 he punished Mahabat Khan.

2. Cf. Let. CXLVI.

LETTER CXXXVII.

I have selected five elephants for (my) grandson Bahádür. You should choose two elephants out of these five and send them to his agent who should also be presented with a horse, a special robe of honour, and a dagger decorated with a tassel. You should inquire about these things from Javáhir Khán.

1694 LETTER CXXXVIII

The reporters and Zabar Dast Khán[1] have written something regarding Saiyad Mübárak.[2] Are these reports about the Saiyad right or not? The Khán considers himself as an honest man. You should ask Ináyat Alláh Khán (about the facts of these reports) Sáleh Khan[3] has managed well the governorship of Akbarábad You should write to Gopál Singh for helping the Khán (in the government of the province of Akbarábád). You should write the above Khán (i.e, Sáleh Khán) a letter of condolence (Verse) "How long will the palm tree conceal the defect of its poverty"?[4]

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1 Cf Let CIX

2 He was fort-keeper of Daulatábád before 1683 In 1687 he was honoured with the title of Mürtiza Khan

3. Son of A'azam Khan Kükeh, was made superintendent of the 'Ghosal Khaneh' in 1680 In 1683 he was made Meer Bakhashi of the 'Ahadis', and in 1685, 'faujdar' and minister of Bareli After the death of Shayasta Khan he was honoured with the title of Fida Khan and appointed governor of Akbarabad 1694 In 1695 he was made governor of Bihar after the death of Umeed Khan, son of Shayasta Khan.

4 A reference to the bareness of the branches of the palm tree which have no leaves on them.

LETTER CXXXIX.

The accident met by the deceased Ihtamám Khán[1] is through the negligence of (his) followers. We should not give countenance to them, nay we should break their backs with the stick of inattention (i.e., we should shew indifference to them). Whence shall we get an honest and intelligent man like the late Khán? He had fattened the (royal) horses so much and kept such fine order in the stable that I cannot describe it. O God! forgive him (i.e., the Khán) and have mercy upon him, because You are the most merciful. You should write strongly to Saif Khán[2] to punish the rebels. He should be given his pay in advance so that he will not delay (in punishing the rebels). The work is difficult.

LETTER CXL.

The eldest son of sovereignty (i.e., Mūazzam) has written (requesting me) to confer additional titles on (his) fourth son. Evidently the cavaliers of Rafi-ūl-Kadr[1] are more numerous (than necessary). The number should be reduced in consonance with his post. It is not advisable to give more personal titles to the younger son than to the eldest. In order to please my son I shall have to shew favour in another way.

Razavi Khán and the Hindu are not on good terms.

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1. At first he was a 'kotwál' in 1682. In 1688 he was given the title of Sirdar Khan. In 1697 he was made head groom.

2. He was governor of Cashmere before 1664. In 1665 he was ordered to invade Tibet which he made tributary to Delhi. In 1679 he was appointed governor of Bihar. He died in 1709. He was employed as tutor to Prince Kam Bakhsha to train him up in the art of archery. He was a son of Tarbiat Khan.

1. Cf. Let. III.

These are two enemies; they are quarrelling for their law.[2] You should write a threatening letter to the Hindu

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LETTER CXLI

Rūh Alláh Khán[1] discharged his debts with difficulty. This extravagant and rich Khán desires to squander away lavishly the money equivalent to the fine imposed upon him (i e, not to pay the fine) He garbles the money accounts When landlords are unable to pay money to the royal treasury, the debt is discharged from their estates by revenue collectors You should appoint an agent to get from the Khán immediately the fine imposed upon him by the state. Not a single 'asharafi'[2] should be left to the Khán but all the whole amount of fine should be recovered from him. His Majesty (Sháh Jehán),—may his tomb be sanctified,—was very particular in recovering fines Immediately he appointed mischievous and strict 'chilás'[3] and thus received fines I remember that one day His Majesty made Ja'afar Khán,[4] who was at the time a vizier, sit in the 'Ghosal Kháneh', and received from him the fine imposed upon him. The above Khán was offended with the superintendent of the 'Ghosal Kháneh, who had in his charge

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2 It is in reference to a story in the Koran where two persons are represented as disputing with each other about the existence of God

1. Cf. Let. CXX.

2 A gold coin, so called from Asharaf who first coined it In Aurangzebe's time one 'asharafi' was worth seventeen rupees.

3. Cf Let. CXXVI.

4. Entitled Umdat-ūl-Mūlk, son of Sadik Khan Mir Bakhashi He held the rank of 5000 under Shah Jehan and served him as a minister for sometime. Aurangzebe appointed him prime minister about 1662 Before 1660 he was governor of Malwa. He died at Delhi in 1670. After his death the office of prime minister was conferred upon Asad Khan with the title of Asad-ūd-Daula. Cf Let. CL

the amount of his fine, and was prepared to do him harm and injury H. M told the unkindly brother (i e, Dárá) to reconcile both of them after the dismissal of the court and to make the above-mentioned Khán give the superintendent a 'dūsháleh'.[5]

LETTER CXLII.

You should often bring the poor assistant of the prime minister into my presence Meanwhile if he is selfish, you should prohibit him from this so that he may not do so again.

LETTER CXLIII.

To-day Tarbiat Khán[1] requested me to present two or three turbans adorned with jewels to two or three 'Mang-báshis'[2] who had rendered good services during this expedition. You should say to the above Khán, "Though you have passed your life in government service and have been favoured (for this) by the emperor, you do not know that these 'Mang-báshis' do not deserve to be favoured in such a way" For pleasing him and encouraging him for the service he rendered to the state a turban adorned with a

5 A double sided turban, an Indian word

1. A nobleman of 4000 who served under Aurungzebe as commander of artillery In 1659 he was made governor of Ajmere He was sent against Prithivi Singh, Zamindar of Srinagar, who had given refuge to Suleman Shekūh, Dara's son 1660 In the same year he was made governor of Multan In 1663 he was sent as ambassador to Shah Abbas of Persia. He took part in the sieges of Barnaleh, Bijapur, and Sattara In 1700 he was appointed to lay siege to Basantgadh In 1705 he was appointed Meer-e-Atesh After Aurungzebe's death he took up the cause of A'azam and was killed at the battle near Agra between A'azam and Muazzam. 1707. Cf. Let CXLIV and CXXXV

2 *Chiefs* having *ten* or *hundred* men under their command Turkish 'mang' ten or hundred and 'bashi' a head or a chief

gold medal will be sent to him. Javáhir Khán will send it to him. Help and grace we receive from God. But in future the Khán will not make such a request regarding the 'Mang-báshis'. If any one will execute an important royal work and will render the state a service with great caution, he will be rewarded and pleased with a robe of honour and money in cash, and with a horse in case he has lost his own horse.

LETTER CXLIV.

Tarbiat Khán[1] is yet in need of money. He has got money (from the royal treasury) for (distributing it) among the soldiers of the fortresses. From outside I came to hear that he has kept this money for his own private purpose What can the wicked reporters do? The Khán has been appointed over them. These reporters upset important royal arrangements by selfishness, and being ashamed (of their conduct), they pretend ignorance in communicating the news. What is the cause of the fortification of the fortresses by the great rebels and of the watch of Esavi Khán over these fortresses? Had we been informed from the beginning these things would not have happened. The 'jághir' should be taken away from Tarbiat Khan and given to Bürhán Alláh Khán who complains of having no 'jághir'. Evidently Bürhán Alláh Khán is in army You should write and threaten the above Khán (i e, Tarbiat Khán), "How has this case resulted in this manner? Why did you pay no attention to the results of the affair as far as your eye could reach? At the time when money was not distributed among the soldiers, when there was no provision in the fortress, and when the soldiers were weakened by want of food and money, where were you? It is enough if the soldiers receive their pay and are faithful in doing their

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1 Cf The above letter.

work. We know that the soldiers can do nothing without money and food. Are these the ways of true and faithful Mohemadans to ruin the state affairs, which are truly divine, for the sake of selfishness, and to disregard, for the sake of this perishable life, the right of soldiers (of getting money), which strengthens the infidels to injure them? Immediately you should get the receipts of pay from all soldiers and send them (to me) Otherwise you will certainly be punished like those who are dishonest and help the infidels. Because, truly, God will not allow the tricks of the treacherous to prosper".

LETTER CXLV

The trustee, newly appointed by Ináyat Alláh Khán[1] and confirmed by me, ran away. What has he done? (Verse) "Everything which enters the salt mine becomes salt" The Khán had no power of resistance. What can he do? He is helpless. If such was the case, why did he not come to me? Though he was not given money by my servants, he was not prohibited by them from coming to me. You should also yourself write strongly to him

LETTER CXLVI.

Evidently Mahábat Khán of Haiderábád[1] died at Láhore. He has no other heir except his grandson whose father is dead. You should write to the administrator of

1 Cf. Let. CLXIX.

1. His original name was Muhammad Ebráhim Khalil Alláh. At first he was in the service of Abūl Hasan, king of Golcondá and Haiderabad, as his general. During the siege of Haiderábád by Aurungzebe (1685) he deserted his master and went over to Aurungzebe Afterwards he was honoured by the emperor with the title of Mahabat Khán in 1686. In the same year he was made governor of Berár. Afterwards he was appointed governor of Láhore. Cf. Let. CXXXVI.

the district thereof to confiscate the Khán's property with caution and honesty. Because the royal treasury belongs to the public.[2] The king is the trustee (of people) and the officers are appointed by the king None but the needy and the weak can claim a share of the property

LETTER CXLVII.

To-day Marhamat Khán came into my presence, having put on a rich dress. The skirt of his robe was so long that his feet were not visible I ordered Mûharam Khán to curtail two inches of the skirt of that foolish Khán You should say to him, "The skirt must be of the same length that has been fixed by the court custom, otherwise you should not enter the 'Ghosal Khâneh' A man should put on a simple and durable dress [1] Ornament and fashion are the peculiar characteristic of women These things are proper for women " By way of advice you should speak to him some words (of the same nature) appropriate to the occasion.

1660. LETTER CXVIII.

I do not chew a' pán'.[1] This betel shop is out of order. The department under the steward is also not in order Is

2. Cf Let. XCIX and CXXVIII.

1. Here we find Aurungzebe preaching simplicity in dress though he himself was very fond of pomp and grandeur.

1. A betel, an Indian word The Hindus and the Mohemadans are generally very fond of chewing betels with nuts and other stimulant substances. Generally a Hindu offers a betel to one who goes to his place to see him. The betel is of various kinds

"The betel leaf is probably speaking a vegetable, but connoisseurs call it an excellent fruit Amir Khûsro of Delhi in one of his verses says, 'It is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit of Hindostán.' The eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable, and repasts odorous It strengthens the gums, and makes the hungry satisfied, and the satisfied hungry " Ain-i-Akbari.

this the ability and sagacity of superintendents that they keep, at every time and at every place, the departments under their charge in a proper order[2]? Till the superintendents display their ability and nice and good nature and all lookers-on-glory know order, given to us by God, and display their order and discipline, envious persons will be degraded Alas! alas! we claim for piety, but all this is boasting Truly, I swear by God, this claim is great and unreasonable.

According to my order, the reply, sent by A'akel Khán[3] to Mahábat Khán[4] regarding the erection of the fortress of the capital (i e, sháh Jehàn Ábad), is an excellent one A servant must be of this type. Thanks to God for His grace.

LETTER CXLIX.

Devoted servant of (my) court, Vuzarát Khán Abdūr Rahmin[1] is dead. You should suggest me the names of some persons for the governorship of Málwá. These persons

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Betel is taken after meals, it is offered when you meet and when you separate. "The betel is the leaf which, after it has undergone a certain preparation, is given as a mark of royal favour, and which, when masticated, sweetens the breath and renders the lips ruddy." Bernier.

2 Sarcastic. Aurungzebe liked order and discipline.

3. Cf. Let. CLXVII

4. The second son of the celebrated Mahábat Khán of the reign of Jehángir after whose death in 1634 he received this title His original name was Lohrásp He was twice made governor of Cábul and had the command of the army in the Deccan. He died in 1674 on his way from Cábul to the royal presence.

There was another man of the same name who was imprisoned by Jehándár Sháh.

1. Second son of Amánat Khan Mirak Aurungzebe appointed him governor of Bijapur and Malwa. He was an excellent poet and left a 'Diván' (collection of poems) composed in a most beautiful style. His poetical name was Bikrami

must be experienced. Raghūnáth Sa'ad Alláh Khán[2], at the time of his governorship, used to say, "The government affair should be given to such a person as possesses the quality of experience and a mind of entering carefully into the affair, and not to one who is affected with selfishness".

LETTER CL.

That devoted servant (and) pivot of state affairs, according to (my) order, as powerful as destiny, you should write to Prince A'azam, "From the letter of Neek Nám Khán[1] it was known that you had dismissed the three sons of your own old secretary. You seem to be wise and sagacious Do as you like. Now you do not like Fazáil Khán Mir Hádi[2]. I appointed Ináyat Alláh Khán to report (to me) your desires. You must be knowing that Kūkaltásh Khán[3] during his governorship of the Deccan, and Rūh Alláh Khán[4] during his governorship of Haiderábád[5] (Deccan), had become sources of abominable actions. For the sake of policy I took them to task for a time, but in the end I retained them in their posts by remembering their past services".

Aurungzebe appears to receive the news of the death of his oldest and most intimate friends with a cold heart.

2. Cf Let. LVI.

1. Son of Himmat Khan, grandson of Islam Khan, was appointed 'Bakhashi' and reporter in the army of Prince Bidar Bakhta in 1699 He took part in the Deccan War. In 1684 he was fort-keeper of Molheir

2 - Cf. Let. LXII. He was a 'Meer Münshi' (chief writer).

3 Cf. Let. XXVIII

4 Cf Let. CXX

5. A city in the Deccan Its former name was Bhagnagar. It was founded by Muhammad Külly Kütüb Shah of Golconda and named after Bhagmatty, his beautiful Hindu wife 1589 After his death his son Haider changed it into Haiderabad It was the new capital of the Golconda kings after Golconda, the old capital At present it is the capital of the present Nizam It is to be distinguished from the Haiderabad of Sind.

I have heard His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) saying, " One day the Emperor Akbar, whose abode is in heaven, observed, ' Though Todarmal[6] possesses a sharp intellect for the ins and outs of political and financial affairs, I do not like his pride '. Abul Fazl[7] quarrelled with Todarmal and began to indirectly complain against him The Emperor Akbar said to him, ' Elevated persons should not be degraded, therefore the officials should per force be retained in their services ' ". (Verse) " Greatness and generosity belong to that person who sees the crimes (of his servants) and at the same time maintains his servants by keeping them in his service".

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6 Known as Rajah Todarmal, the great finance minister of Akbar, born at Laharpur in Audh It was he who surveyed all the lands and introduced a new revenue system into the Mogul Empire. He was a Hindu of the tribe of Khatri of Lahore. In the 27th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed 'divan' (minister) of the empire. Akbar appointed him governor of Bengal in 1580. He was a commander of four thousand. He died at Lahore in 1589.

Abul Fazl had no personal liking for Todarmal, but he admired his strict integrity and abilities; he charged him with vindictiveness of temper and bigotry ' Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todarmal's fame, as general and financier, has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees together with Abul Fazl and Man Singh, he is best known to the people of India at the present day '

7 The eldest son of Sheikh Mubárak, born in 1551 at Agra. He was a great minister and intimate friend of Akbar He was the brother of Faizi, the celebrated poet and translator of Akbar's time. He was the author of ' Ain-i-Akbari ' (Rules and Regulations of Akbar—1596—which has been often quoted here in these Letters) and ' Akbar Nameh' He was killed, at Jehangir's instigation, near Udchá by Nar Singh Deo while returning from the Deccan to Delhi 1602. The date of his death (1602) may be found from the following Persian verses " Teegh-i-aajaz-i-nabi Allah sar-i-bagi burid " (i e, the wonderful sword of God's prophet cut off the head of the rebel)--invented by Khan-i-A'azam Mirza Kokah who with other orthodox Mohemadans considered him an infidel for his religious toleration, " Bandeh Abul Fazl " (i e, the slave Abul Fazl).

Sheikh Abul Fazl-i-Allámi translated the ' Kalilah Damnah ' under the title of 'Ayar Dánish' from Arabic into Persian. " As a writer Abul

LETTER CLI.

Khán Fírūz Jang left his work unfinished. He did not go to receive my grandson who had come from Būrhánpūr, but went away to the Berárs[1] Why does not the Khán write a letter to me about him? Was the Khán informed to go to the Berárs through a letter from the agent or through divine news? Neither an order was issued nor was he told by me to go to the Berárs. Let him know from whom he received the post of generalship.

LETTER CLII.

Muhammad Bákar[1], the superintendent of the divine court, died. People talk something about Shikár Khán. One day, when riding, I heard people speaking more ill of him than of Muhammad Bákar. I often said that Muhammad Bákar was notorious for a mischievous habit, while Shikár Khán, for pride. But it was no effect It is right

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Fazl stands unrivalled" His poetical name was Allami (the Learned) He wrote letters known as 'Maktubat-i-Allami' which are the models of public correspondence His style cannot be imitated, but Abūl Hamid Lahori, author of the 'Badshah Nameh,' who was patronised by Sa'ad Allah Khan Allami (cf Let XV) imitated his style Abul Fazl was a well read man He was tolerant on religious views Akbar was greatly influenced by and indebted to him for his religious toleration Abul Fazl's influence on his age was immense He was a commander of two thousand and five hundred.

1 A small province in Central India, Hindustani corruption of Sanskrit Varad. Hindustani has a tendency to change 'v' into 'b' and 'd' into 'r' of Sanskrit or Hindi names of persons and places and things or any words, e g, 'Vikram' into 'Bikram,' 'Vasai' into 'Basai' (Bassin, a town near Bombay), 'vad' into 'bar' (an Indian tree), 'vada' into 'bara' (large or old), and so on.

1 He was a reporter of Sūrat Aurungzebe wanted to transfer him, but at the request of Saiyad Sa'ad Allah Derwish of Surat he was retained in his own place. 1693. Cf. Let. CXXV.

that men get rewards for their actions. The Khán knows better what happened to the deceased (*i.e.*, Muhammad Bákar), and what will happen to himself The evil passion does not allow man to do good acts and to store up provision for the next life. Otherwise people would know that it is bad to practise oppression, but it is worse to encourage it[2]. To render services to the avaricious is to kill the poor To be thoroughly conscious of the responsibility of the judgment of the next life which is doubted is a difficult task. What if a man is certain of the judgment of the next life? The Khán must be given his 'jághir', but not a post in the state (Verse) "Alas! alas! the indifference towards justice."

Gûlám Mûhi-ûd-Din opened a shop in the army of A'azam. He claims himself to be a 'dervish'. It is necessary to dismiss him. (Couplet) "Such people (like Gûlám) are not men but only figure-heads. They fill their bellies and are men of passion". They are ignorant and abject persons, of a defective temper and utter false words. Where is faith, and where is (true) Islám?

1694. LETTER CLIII

Prince A'azam, for his arrears due to the government, has requested that the district of Lûdhi should be assigned to him (so that he may be able to pay off his arrears from the revenue of the district). You should write to him or tell his agent, "There is no harm if his arrears remain unpaid. They will be considered to be paid off from the assets, cash money, the price of the jewels, &c. This is not the business of merchants". His Majesty (Sháh Jehán) used to keep in arrears more than one-fourth part of (the pro-

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2 These letters often repeat that Aurungzebe was a great supporter of justice and great opponent of tyranny and oppression. Cf. Let. XIV.

duce of) the 'jághirs' of the princes and the nobles. In my time all rules are without force.

Many times the pivot of the kingdom (*i.e.*, Asad Khán) used to say on his own behalf, "I have never been appointed to manage the state affairs outside the capital. If I am sent abroad people will see my way of working[1]". I had heard these words reported by the spies word for word. At this time I came to know from the reports of reporters that an accursed enemy had attacked Zūl Fikár Khán[2] (at Gingi) and had not allowed provision to be in the Khán's reach and that the Khán is in difficulty and requires help. A royal mandate was issued to you for going soon to the help of your son. When you made delay in joining him, I wrote the letter with my bright hand Because you confessed your love for your son, but now when he is in difficulty, why do you hesitate to go there ! To set forth a claim is one thing, and to fulfil the claim is another. (Verse) "Don't boast more, because your pride is over[3]"

LETTER CLIV.

Old devoted servant, notwithstanding that you have been favoured by me for a long time and have served me and that I have a great opinion of your knowledge about rules and about human virtues, you pocket the insults of the government officials and do not remember the (following) words of Sa'adi[1]. (couplet) "Both you and

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1. This latter portion of the letter is quoted by the author of 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri,' in which the author quotes the whole letter, esp., the last part, word for word.

2. Asad Khan's son.

3. This verse also is quoted by the author of 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri'

1. Cf Let XLV.

I are servants of the same master; both of us are servants in the court of the king (consequently one officer should not pocket another's insult)". It is very strange. Sa'ad Alláh Khán[2] used to say, "The (Persian) letters 'alif' and 'nūn' in the word 'divân' (secretary or minister) resemble the pen and the inkstand (respectively) (i.e., the last letters 'alif' ا and 'nūn' ن of the word 'diván' shew that the 'diván' has got a pen and an inkstand before him as the signs of his post)". (But) the 'diván' who has not got angelic qualities is either a demon with pen and inkstand before him or a brute or a picture devoid of intelligence.[3] Henceforth you should be careful. And with your confidence you should regard the servants of the royal court your equals, and you should not leave observance unobserved (i e, you should possess the discriminative power).

LETTER CLV.

To-day (my) grandson Muhammad Azim[1] requested (me) to annex the district of Lashakarpūr[2] to the 'jághir' of Prince A'azam. You should ask him, "With what hope have you cherished this well-wishing in mind? Had this

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2 Cf Let XXVI and XXXIV

3. These are the words of Aurungzebe. He says if a 'diván' is not good and honest, he is either a demon or a brute or a lifeless picture. According to him the word 'divan' is made up of two words—'div' (a demon) and 'án' (symbolical for the pen and the inkstand). Thus the 'divan', if not good and honest, has got two qualities—the quality of a demon and of a writer. While according to Sa'ad Allah Khan, the 'divan' has got only one quality, namely, that of a writer Here is an indirect remark against Asad Khan

1 Cf. Let LXXXVII

2. A town and district in Bengal. There is another town and district bearing the same name in Oude near Lucknow In the 'Ain-i-Akbari' this Oude Lashakarpur is given only as Lashakar.

request been suggested to you by A'azam, there would have been no harm. Otherwise you should not make such requests, because they do not augment sincerity of heart but increase pride and self-conceit." The Almighty God is an agent for us, and I call upon Him. He should have mercy upon us and He may make us enter His shadow.

1699. LETTER CLVI.

You must have heard the news of the death of Mŭkhalis Khán[1] I was pleased with his noble and virtuous qualities and his versatile genius May God be pleased with him. This world where death is rampant has many calamities and its toys are perishable Where are the wise heart and the seeing eyes? (i e, wise men are to die in this world) A person indirectly complained before me, "This man (i e, Mukhalis Khán) does not consider any other man better than himself" I replied, "He does not find any other man better than himself"

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1 Son of Saf Shikan Khan and grandson of Kawam-ud-Din Khan After the death of his father he was made superintendent of the artillery. In 1693 he was made 'Tan Bakhashi' (personal paymaster) He died in 1699 After his death Ruh Allah Khan the Second became 'Bakhashi' Cf Let CXIV Mukhalis Khan was well versed in the art of prose and poetry His poetry is full of advice He is known for his 'Ghazals,' one of which is quoted in 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri'.

Letters Addressed to

Ghází-ūd-Dín Khán Bahádūr Firūz Jang[1].

LETTER CLVII[2].

(My) sincere Khán Fırūz Jang, I desired to come myself to see this loyal friend (i e., Fırūz Jang who was ill at the time); but with what face and how can I see you? Consequently I have sent Sa'adat Khán[3] on my own behalf to see my eye (i e, my dear Khán) and to represent to you what is concealed in my heart. Grapes are the only new fruits obtainable here But the Greek physicians con-

1 Son of Kilich Khan Sadr-ūs-Sadūr (cf. Let XLVIII) and father of the famous Nizám-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, the founder of the present Nizam royal family of the Deccan His original name was Shaháb-ūd-Din. He came from Samarcand to Delhi in 1668 He was honoured by Aurungzebe with the title of 'Ghazi-ud-Din' (the Champion of the Faith) for his military exploits against the Ranee of Udepur. 1684. For his services in the Konkan and for capturing the fort of Rahiri he was given the title of 'Firuz Jang' (Victorious in Battle) He took part in the siege of Golconda and of Bijapur. After the conquest of Bijapur he was given the title of 'Farzand-i Arjamund' (Dear Son). In 1688 he was made governor of the Deccan He took part in the Deccan War. He was sent against Santáji Gorpary, whose head he presented to the emperor He suffered severely from the effects of the climate, and eventually lost the use of both his eyes. 1698 In 1705 he defeated Temeah Sindhia into Malwa, and for this service he received the title of 'Sipah Salar' (Commander of the Army) and was appointed governor of Berar In 1710 he was appointed governor of Ahmedabad by Bahadur Shah, and died in 1711 at Ahmedabad 'He died as he had lived respected and esteemed by all who knew his conciliating disposition' Khafi Khan says about him 'a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy.'

2. Perhaps this letter might refer to an accident that occurred to the eye of the Khan in 1698 Cf note I, supra

3. Alias Muhammad Murad Khanezad Khan, a reporter of the Deccan and 'divan' of the army of Khan Jehan Bahadur in the Deccan. He was Aurungzebe's agent at the court of Abul Hasan of Golconda Aurungzebe was offended with him for his dishonesty and deprived him of his title after the conquest of Golconda. 1688. But afterwards he was pardoned He died in 1698. He was the son of Murshid Kulli Khan.

sider them injurious for the health of the noble, sincere, and learned Khán. Therefore I myself do not take grapes. If the Holy God wishes we will eat grapes together after the immediate recovery of your health. (Verse) "O God! how pleasant is this my desire (of getting recovery)! May Thou fulfil this desire".

1702. LETTER CLVIII.

Sincere Khán Firuz Jang, the separation of your army cannot be helped Send your son[1] into my august presence to be favoured with gifts and allowances Then he will return to my loyal friend (*i e.*, you). (Verse) "Beware! when you do not know the divine secrets, do not be disappointed Plays and tricks (of fortune) are concealed behind the curtain Do not be grieved." (*I.e.*, a person like the Khan should not be disappointed at his misfortune, because after a time good luck will succeed misfortune). (Verse) "What burnt the heart with anxiety was the fear of separation. Any how we must put up with this separation on account of the faithlessness of the sky" (Similarly the Khán should put up with the separation of his army for which he was in great anxiety).

LETTER CLIX.

Sincere Khán Firūz Jang, may God be praised There is no difference of heart between us (*i e*, we love one another even from a great distance). (Couplet) "If you are in Yaman[1] and at the same time with me (*i e*, with my heart), you are near me. But if you are near me and at

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1 Chin Kilich Khan, alias Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah. Cf Let. XCVI.
1. Cf. Let CI

the same time without me (*i.e*, without my heart), you are in Yaman." (*I e*, if you are at a distant place like Yaman from me and yet if you love me at that place, you seem to be near me, but if you are near me and yet do not love me, you seem to be far away from me at Yaman). (Similarly though Aurungzebe was far away from the Khán, on account of his love for him he imagined himself to be near him). You must have been probably informed of the affairs of the whole day so that the physical union might be kept up I have not seen Ináyat Alláh Khán His place is vacant (Verse) "The rose is rose wherever it grows".

Letters addressed to

Zûl Fikár Khán Bahádûr Nasrat Jang[1].

LETTER CLX.

Sincere Nasrat Jang, first this country (*i.e.*, the Deccan) was governed by the Delhi kings. The powerful Bahámani[2] kings usurped it from the possession of the Afghán kings of Delhi. Having found them addicted to sensual pleasures and engaged in low worldly affairs, we (*i.e.*, the Mogul emperors) took advantage of it and acquired the throne and the

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1. Son of Asad Khan, son-in-law of Sháyasta Khan and of Abul Hasan of Golconda, the best of all Aurungzebe's generals, born in 1657, his original name being Muhammad Ismail. In 1678 he was honoured with the title of Aitekad Khan and married the daughter of Shayasta Khan. In 1690 the title of Zul Fikar Khan Bahadur was conferred on him by Aurungzebe for capturing Raigarh and imprisoning Yasoo Baì, Sambhaji's widow, and her son Shivaji, afterwards known by the name of Sháhû. In 1691 he was sent against Gingi, but failed to take it chiefly through the resistance of Santaji Gorpary, and was recalled by the emperor in 1694. He was sent there again for a second time in 1697 and was successful in taking the fortress. 1698. He took Vákingadh by storm. In 1703 he was made Mir Bakhashi. After Aurungzebe's death (1707) he took the side of A'azam and helped him against his brother Muazzam. But he was pardoned and favoured by Muazzam when he became emperor after defeating and slaying A'azam at Agra. He was made viceroy of the Deccan by the new emperor Bahadur Shah and was honoured by him with the title of Amir-ûl-Umara. 1708 He was also given the title of Samsám-ûd-Daulah. In Jehandar Shah's time he was made minister. After Jehandar Shah's murder he was treacherously put to death by Farukh Shiar. 1713. Cf Let XVI. Zul Fikar Khan was a king maker Irádat Khan calls him "Seater, nay creator of emperors." Grant Duff calls him 'a corrupt ambitious man', but 'an active commander.'

2. The Bahamani kingdom was founded in the Deccan by Aláûdin Husain Bahámani Gangu in the reign of Muhammad Taglakh in 1347. It was named so by Alaudin in gratitude to the Brahman master whom he had served before he became king. After a century and a half, *i e*, in 1526, this kingdom was split up into five different independent states, Ahamadnagar, Bedar, Berar, Golconda, and Bijapur, which were afterwards conquered by the Moguls one after another.

canopy for us (i e, we founded our Delhi Empire). They received the reward of their actions from the revengeful leaders,[3] i e, the Bahámani kings treated their masters (the Afghan kings of Delhi) badly and unfaithfully, they themselves, in return, were treated so by their servants. Shivá(ji)[4] and others also treated them badly. (Couplet) "Take advantage when the kingdom is in your hands, because the kingdom passes from one hand to another (i e, take possession of the Deccan, because it has passed from one ruler to another)".

LETTER CLXI

Why Should a fertile land be given to an ungrateful 'káfir-i-harabi'?[1] Why should we be negligent in

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3 This refers to the internecine war amongst the different Bahamani kings of the Deccan and the cause of their own ruin at the hands of the Moguls

4 The great founder of the Mahratta Empire, second son of Sháhji by Jiji Bai, born in 1627 and died in 1680 He was descended from the Ranas of Chitor and belonged to the Bhonsle family At first he entered the service of the Bijapur kingdom He began life as a plunderer like Haider of Mysore The most important of Shivaji's life was the expedition into the Karnatic He successfully resisted the Moguls by his guerilla tactics and baffled them. The murder of Afzul Khan, the Bijapur general, is a stain on his character The reference in the book is to his constant wars with Bijapur and Golconda and his wresting many of the fortresses from the hands of the Bijapur king He was well versed in the art of taking fortresses Khafi Khan calls him 'a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud' Again he calls him 'the most notorious of all the rebels' The Khan often calls Shivaji by bad names and epithets, such as, 'of an evil origin,' 'a vagabond,' and so on. But he says that Shivaji protected women and children and had a great respect for the Koran Bernier calls him 'the Holy Shivaji' because he respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose during his pillage of Surat. Aurungzebe called him 'a great captain' and 'a mountain rat'

1. An *infidel* who is deserved by the Mohemadans to be *fought with* and ruined (Opposite) 'kafir-i-zummeh', an infidel who pays a tax to the Mohemadans for living under their protection. 'Káfir' lit. means 'ignorant.'

carrying out works which it is impossible to accomplish without any evident objection? Have we not read about the reward of the crusade (against the infidels) in the 'Sahihain'[2]? Have we not got power of conquering kingdoms and of imprisoning rebels?

LETTER CLXII.

Khán Nasrat Jang, Ráo Dūlip[1] sent his other subordinates except Mūltifat Khán[2] to prince A'azam in order to request him that as the work was heavy, there would be no harm if it was reduced All right. Many of the subordinates of the Ráo are in common cause with the shameless Rámá[3]. They do not understand that they make them-

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2. Two books out of six about the Mohemadan traditions. They are authoritative and written by Muslem and Bokhari in the second century of the Mohemadan era The word lit means 'two true' (books) It is a general belief among the Mohemadans that those who fight against infidels and are killed in battle are rewarded with 'hures'(fairies) in paradise.

Here is a further instance of Aurangzebe's fanaticism. Cf. Let. CXIV

Aurungzebe waged his wars in the Deccan for religion's sake He persecuted the Hindus for religion and not through cruelty With the exception of the executions of Dará and of Sambhaji he was generally kind.

1. Alias Dalpat Ráo Bundela, son of Subhkaran Bundelá who was a great Hindu chief and general of Aurungzebe Rao Dulip was a Hindu chief who served under Aurungzebe as general like his father. He was present at the siege of Gingi (1694–1698) and helped Nasrat Jang He was also present at the siege of Vákingadh 1706 He took part in the Deccan War 'He was killed by a cannon shot in the battle between A'azam and Muazzam. 1707. Cf. Let. XCVII.

2. Multifat Khán Khawafi He took an active part in the siege of Golcondá where for the display of great bravery he was honoured with the title of Multifat Khán. 1688. He found out the date of the conquest of Golcondá which is as follows: 'Fateh-i-killeh-i-Golcondá mubarak bad' (may the conquest of Golconda be auspicious). Afterwards he was given the title of Amir Khan. His original name was Mir Abdul Karim. Cf. Let. CLXXIX.

3. Cf. Let. CXIV.

selves the butts for the arrow of destruction in the next life. (Couplet) "Wheat grows from wheat; and barley, from barley (*i.e.*, as you sow so shall you reap). Don't be unmindful of the reward of (your) action". (Verse) "Oh! Morning breeze, kindly tell this beautiful deer that it has caused us to wander on mountains and in jungles". May the end be safety.

1702. LETTER CLXIII.

My sincere Nasrat Jang, (our) whole energy was devoted to the conquest of the Deccan which was the most important work Thank God that we have accomplished the work (of conquering the Deccan)[1]. But the expenses incurred in this meritorious journey (of the Deccan) are defrayed from the treasury of the Northern India. We are still in debt. I have heard that in the Karnátic[2] large and

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1 It was Aurungzebe's early and favourite scheme of annexing the whole Deccan to the empire.

Really speaking this conquest of the Deccan was only partial and temporary, because though Sambhaji, Shivji's son, was captured and put to a horrible death,, and Shahu, Shivaji's grandson, was imprisoned by the Moguls at Delhi, the Mahrattas were not subdued. They continued to harass the Mogul army and made them exhaust their strength and vigour. Poor Aurangzebe, who had come to the Deccan with a great army to subdue the Mahrattas, never returned to his capital but died at Ahmadnagar without accomplishing his work No doubt he conquered the Bahamani kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur. But he committed a great political blunder in conquering these two Mohemadan kingdoms which would have been a great check to the rising Maharatta power.

2. A province in the Madras Presidency. First most of it belonged to the Bijapur Government. Sháhji, Shivaji's father, had his 'jághir' there. Shivaji had occupied most of the Karnatic. Before Shivaji it was divided between Bijapur and Golconda governments and was called Bijapur Karnatic and Haiderabad Karnatic Tanjor was its capital. The Moguls first entered the Karnatic in 1686 under Muhammad Saddick. After the fall of Bijapur and Golconda most of the Karnatic was taken by Aurungzebe.

old treasures are hidden and buried under the ground The 'Zamindár'[3] of Bijápūr of an unknown origin has usurped the kingdom of the Karnátic by force The grandson of Shivájı is the father of the hellish Shivájı (i e, the grandson is worse than even the grandfather). Evidently his kingdom (i e., the Karnátic) is not strong. Its revenue is said to have been estimated by the late Masūd Khán at seventy or eighty lacs of 'hūns'[4]. Why don't you take possession of this kingdom (of the Karnátic)? You should inquire from your own deputy, who must be Dáūd Khán[5], about the condition of this kingdom and about the plan of taking it. Why are you careless and negligent about this[6]?

LETTER CLXIV.

My Khán Nasrat Jang, government servants do not pay any attention to honest people, because from beginning to end these honest men have no regard and respect for the government officials The oppressors are not afraid

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3 "Zamindar, derived from 'zamin', the word signifying lands, is the proprietor of a tract of land given in inheritance by the king or the nabob, and who stipulates the revenue which he is to pay for the peaceable possession of it Such Zamindar are not now to be frequently met with; but the title everywhere it is transferred to all the little superintendents or officers under the faujdár".

The Zamindar was the same as the Pollygar of the Coromandal Coast.

4. A gold coin current in the Deccan at that time

5. Daud Khán Panni, in 1702 was appointed deputy to Nasrat Jang and 'faujdár' of Karnatic Bijapur In 1704 he was appointed deputy to Kám Bakhsha who was governor of Hiderabad In 1706 he took part in the siege of Vákingadha Cf Let CXXXV

The second in command to Zul Fikar Khan in this army was (1691) Daud Khan Panni, a Deccan officer of some repute, but notoriously addicted to drinking".

6 This letter reveals Aurungzebe's pecuniary embarrassments during the latter part of his Deccan War.

of giving (money) to and taking (it) from honest men (i.e the oppressive government servants bribe and fleece the honest), i.e, it will require no miserliness to give water to others from the ocean Their wicked actions are contrary to my order I do not know what punishment will be inflicted upon me on the day of judgment and what hardships will befall the subjects[1] (Verse) " The thought of Saturday embitters the Friday of the boys[2]. The pleasure of to-day without the anxiety of to-morrow is enjoyable (i.e., sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof)". Any how the men of power should always fear honest men and should every moment say, 'O God! save me and protect me (from sins) '.

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1 Cf. Let. XXXV and XI

2 In Persia the school boys get their holiday on Friday instead of on Sunday as here On this day they think about the following Saturday on which they are to go to school again Consequently they cannot enjoy their Friday happily on account of their anxiety about the succeeding Saturday.

Letters addressed to

Mirzá Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Khán Safavi[1],

Second Paymaster.

LETTER CLXV.

Mirzá Paymaster, Ikhalás Keesh-i-Punjábi[2] has been raised to the post of 'Dú-Sad-o-Punjahi[3]' You should make an entry of this into the record of titles.

LETTER CLXVI

Mirzá Paymaster, Muhammad Ebráhim, the bashful courtier, has been raised to a high honour, i.e., to the post of 'Seh-Hazári', two hundred and five hundred

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1 He was honoured with the title of 'Khán' and appointed 'faujdar' of Ramkar in 1683. In 1701 he was appointed governor of Khandesh In 1702 he was honoured with the title of 'Mirzá' After the death of Ruh Allah Khan II he was appointed second paymaster (bakhashi) 1704. Cf. Let XCII.

"He (Divan) therefore comprehends in his person the offices of prime minister, lord chancellor, and secretary of state, without presuming to advise, judge, or issue orders, but according to the will of his master or to the influence, which he has over it. Under the 'Divan' is an officer called the 'Bakhashi,' who is the paymaster of the troops, and the disburser of all the public expenses of the government This must be a post of great advantage. The 'Bakhashi' has under him an 'Amaldár,' who is the overseer and manager of all the occcasions of expense"

2 A Hindu of the tribe of Khatri of Lahore He served und Aurangzebe who *conferred on him the* title of Ikhalas Khan He was well versed in Persian In the time of Farukh Shiar he was raised to the rank of 7000 He wrote the history of that emperor (Farukh Shiar) and called it 'Badsháh Námeh.'

3. A commander having *two hundred and fifty* soldiers under him

followers, a title of 'Mirzá Kháni', and a present of two thousand rupees, at the request of the Begum[1]. According to (my) order, you should write him a letter communicating these favours He who acts virtuously and piously is rewarded by God.

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1 Zaib-un-Nisa, the favourite daughter of Aurangzebe. Cf. Let LXXII and LXXIII.

Letter addressed to

A'akel Khán[1],

Fort-keeper and Governor of the Capital of Sháh Jehan Abád[2].

1662 LETTER CLXVII.

I read the petition of that old servant (i e, the Khán) You have expressed the desire of retiring from the service and of tendering resignation of your post. When I have protected you under my service, which is the object of divine glory and favour, do you think that you will get a better post anywhere else than here? In case of you insist, your petition will be certainly accepted and your request (for resignation) will be complied with, and a sum of one thousand rupees per month, amounting to twelve thousand per year, will be assigned to you.

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1 A'akel Khan-i-Khafi, author of 'Vakeat-i-Alamgiri' In 1659 he was governor of Shah Jehan Abad In 1662 he resigned his governorship. The author of 'Ma'asir i Alamgiri' says that thereafter he was granted Rs. 1000 per year and not per month In 1663 he was made superintendent of the 'Ghosal Khaneh' Afterwards he was sent to Lahore In 1679 he joined the service of Prince Muazzam In 1680 he was made second 'bakhashi' He died in 1696 He was a good-natured man. Cf Let CXLVIII

2 The new city erected by Shah Jehan near the old Delhi where he removed his court from Agra on account of excessive heat. Thus it was the new capital of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe.

Letter addressed to

Hamid-ud-Din Khán Bahádur[1].

LETTER CLXVIII

Hamid should know that a few days ago prince A'azam uttered these words before me "There are my three bitter enemies—Hamid-ud-Din Khán, Amir Khán[2], and Múna'am Khán[3]". I replied, "Amir Khan is a good-natured man, he is the enemy of none. It is proper that Hamid is also not an enemy. The nature of Múna'am Khan is unknown to this oppressive and ignorant man (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe himself)". Did you ever consider why you are indifferent to your own condition and to death which is nearer to man than the strip of his shoe and the pulse of his neck (*i e*, death comes unexpectedly)? Woe! woe! Alas! alas! (Couplet) "Sometimes I am left behind my hand, heart, and foot (*i e*, sometimes I become helpless). O life! you are passing away soon, I fear that I will be left behind you (*i e*, I will die soon)" If you think it right I will recommend you to prince A'azam If you quarrel with each other I will reconcile you both, so that you may not be dishonest in serving this mortal creature (*i e*, Aurungzebe) Whatever you think write it to me or inform me of it

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1 He took part in the various sieges of Sattara (1699), Parnaleh (1700) Khelna (1703), and Torna (1704) Once Aurungzebe ordered him to separate Hadu, an evil companion of Kam Bakhsha, from the prince The Khan was wounded by the prince, but in the end he succeeded in imprisoning Hadu and thus separating him from the prince 1697 Cf Let CXXVI. Aurungzebe entrusted him with his last will for dividing his kingdom amongst his sons 1707 In this will Aurungzebe said, "Let Hamid-ud-Din Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen-ud-Din and erect a tomb over it in the same manner as is done for dervishes". Cf Let CXXXII

2. Cf Let XVII.

3. Cf. Let. VII.

Letters addressed to

Ináyat Alláh Khán[1].

LETTER CLXIX[2]

Yesterday when Abūl Vafá[3] was present a simple dervish came there and asked for something for his family. I said, "What has the dervish to do with (worldly) desires? He should be free from the desires of this world and should have nothing with him (i e, be poor in worldly things)". People cry, 'A dervish, a dervish[4]', but they do not know who is a dervish and what is his business. (Verse) "The world is a mirror of imagination and the people thereof are the worshippers of this mirror People imitate passions and say, 'It is for God'." O God! awaken us from the sleep of negligence. Amen amen! amen!

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1. Son of Háfizeh Mariam, tutoress to princess Zaib-ūn-Nisa Begum, Aurungzebe's daughter. By his mother's influence he was raised by degrees to the rank of 2500. Cf. Let LVI He was made 'faujdar' of Bareily and then collector of Ajmere. Afterwards he was made finance minister In 1701 he was appointed minister to prince Bidar Bakhta In 1702 he was made Aurungzebe's private secretary Khafi Khan calls him 'the best of ministers'. The author of 'Ma'asiri Alamgiri was his secretary He calls his master 'dastūr' (minister) and 'special disciple of Aurungzebe' Inayat Allah Khan was the author of 'Ahakam-i-Alamgiri', and compiler of the 'Kalimát-i-Taiyabat', Aurungzebe's Letters ('Rūka'at-i-Alamgiri,) which are translated here. Cf Introd. He died in 1726. Cf Let. CXVI, LXXI and CLXXXI

2. Cf. Let. XCII and CVII

3 Cf Let CVI

4. Bernier gives a very fine and interesting description of the 'Fakirs', especially the Hindu ones, called the 'Jogis.' He describes their various frantic practices.

1699. LETTER CLXX.

Hidáyat Keesh[1] and Ikhalás Andeesh boast much of their being converted into Islam (But) their boasting is unnecessary The former boasts in my presence while the latter displays a bad disposition before prince A'azam. You should make them understand (not to behave in this way). (Verse) "O Nakhashaby[2] get up and put up with time, otherwise you will be a butt for the world (i.e., you will be ruined in the world) The wise men of the world say, 'Wisdom consists in putting up with time'" May God make you listen with your ears and see with your eyes May peace be upon men of discretion and of virtue You may have heard the details of the conduct of these two ungrateful wretches towards the prince. What can be done? There is no remedy for one's affairs I gave orders according to the requests of these ungrateful wretches (But now) I issued an order to imprison them It was not known that these irreligious persons would become so very impudent as to represent untruth to the prince and to attribute untrue things to this auspicious person (i e, Aurungzebe himself) Very well. A friend and friendship must be constant If the High God wishes I will look to their cases.

According to (my) order you should write a letter to prince A'azam and send it soon to him with Iaar Ali Beg[3] "In order to shew partiality to the most stupid Afazal,

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1. Sheikh Hidayat Keesh, a reporter Every political and financial matter of India was reported to him He found out the verse of the conquest of Bijapur "Sadd-i-Sikandar geraft" (the wall of Alexander was conquered) 1680 After the conquest of Vakingadh he was entitled Hádi Khan 1706 His Hindu name was Bholanath and he was the son of Chhatarmal He was converted to Islam in 1698.

2. The nom-de-plume of a Persian poet

3. Cf. Let. CXVII.

you have not dismissed the tyrant, Hasan Beg of Chakleh Kūrá. The inhabitants of this place lament constantly, strike their heads against the ground (i.e., bewail) and say, (verse) 'If you will not give us justice, there is the day of judgment for our justice'. The last remedy is of branding, i.e., this Chakleh will be deprived of your 'jághir' and you will have no recompense for that[4] The earth is firm and the sky is far away. The trustworthy agent (or the trustee) said to the secretary (or the minister) before the landlord and the subjects, 'It is easy to be a secretary but it is difficult to be a trustee'. In some of the districts your army get money by oppressing the people. You should select God-fearing and virtuous men, look carefully into their character, and appoint them (in the places at present filled by the tyrants), so that both you and I will be free from responsibility on the day of judgment. Officers should not be the relatives and brothers of a minister and reporters should not be the sons of a 'faujdár' and of a trustee".

LETTFR CLXXI

You should say to Hidáyat Alláh[1], Zarrin Raquam[2], to write in good hand the (following) quatrain in the letter to be sent to prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsha[3]. (Quatrain) "With my own two hands have I set fire to my own harvest. Why should I complain of my enemy? No one is my enemy. I myself am my own enemy. Woe to myself, to my hand, and to my skirt!"

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4. Cf. Let. XIV.

1. Bakhashi of a disciple of Shūjá'at Khan of Ahmedabad.

2. Lit 'a man of *golden handwriting*' It was the title of Hidayat Allah.

3 Cf. Let. LXXIII.

LETTER CLXXII.

Mir Jalál-ud-Din[1], who has resigned the service of prince A'azam, is evidently the nephew of Himmat Khán who was my paymaster. The Mir is a born Saiyad of a noble parentage and of a good disposition. You should enquire into the cause of his resignation.

LETTER CLXXIII.

The letter of Mú'atemad Khán[1] is not a revelation that it should be acted according to per force and that order should be disturbed. Any how, when he is tired of himself and has resigned, you should write him to come to Akbarábád and to take charge of the 'diváni' thereof.

1694. LETTER CLXXIV.

Asad Khán and his son have written to me, "The prince (i e, Kám Bakhsha) is ready to fight against us with the support of the infidel Rámá and desires to enter the fortress (i e, Jinji)[1] But on account of the caution of the royal army, the accursed Rámá could not come out of the fortress and receive the prince in. This is the reason of the delay in taking the fortress." According to (my) order you should write them to keep a watch over the prince and to take the fortress. You should write a strong letter and entrust it to Iaar Ali Beg[2] who will send it to them by rapid stages. It should not be that the prince

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1. Cf. Let LXVI

2. Cf. Let. XXXII

1. Cf Let. CXIV

2. Cf Let CLXX.

joins the enemy (*i.e.*, Rámá) and foils our efforts like the late prince[3]. (Verse) "In a country where boys are rulers, the claims of a hundred years' services become as playthings to them (*i.e.*, when boys become rulers, they do not pay any regard to long services and thus upset the plans of the king) ".

Having heard about the great wealth of India Sharif-i-Mecca[4], for taking an advantage for himself, sends me every year an envoy (for receiving money from me) This sum of money which I sent (with the envoy to the Sharif) is for the needy We should take care whether the money is distributed among the poor or is wasted by the Sharif. On your own behalf you should write to the great and rich merchants of the auspicious harbour of Sūrat[5] that this sum of money will be sent through them to the needy of the two holy and auspicious cities (*i.e.*, Mecca and Medina) if they guarantee its safety. Any how religious charity practised by government should not be known to the public. My object is to please the holy souls of the prophets, the Glorious and Sublime God and His companion (*i.e.*, Mahomet). May the good will and peace of God be upon him (*i.e.*, Mahomet) and upon his family If this is also impossible, why should it (*i.e.*, money) not be distributed among the

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3. Muhammad Sultan Bahadur Of Let XCI Or possibly Aurungzebe was thinking of his other rebel son Akbar who was at that time living in Persia, and whom he thought to be dead at the time Cf Let XCV.

4 A chief of the town of Mecca—the birthplace of the prophet Mahomet—appointed to watch over the pilgrims for their safety During the palmy days of the Mogul Empire India was very rich, but now it is a poor country

5 A well-known city and port in Gujarat from which Mohemadan pilgrims embarked for Mecca (as they now do from Bombay), during the time of the Moguls Cf Let CXXV There are many interpretations about the origin of the name Surat Some say that it has been named after a rich lady, called 'Suraj' or 'Surta.' It was known as 'the Gate of the Pilgrimage' or 'Bab-ul-Mecca.'

poor of this country (*i.e.*, India)? Because the manifestation of the Holy God is reflected in every place (*i.e.*, God is omnipresent). We are nearer to God than even to the pulse of our neck.[6]

6 The latter portion of the letter shews that Aurungzebe was a very religious man. Cf Let CVI and CXXX.

Letters addressed to

Asad Khán[1].

LETTER CLXXV.

You should write, nay address in a respectable way as in a petition, to the heir-apparent, Muhammad Múazzam Sháh Bahádúr, that the post of the faujdárship of Jalalabád[2] had been managed well by Sheikh Karim Ulláh His father was a soldier and also a civil servant. I am not fully informed of his condition. You should write what his post is.

I have heard from outside that the agent of the 'Súbidar' who is a landlord in the province of Kashmere[3] comes for a long time into the 'divani' court about the case of the revenue of a 'jághir' which the 'Súbidar' wants to

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1. Cf. Let. XCII

2. A town in the North of India, to be distinguished from another town of the same name, in Afghanistan.

3. 'The Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies'

"The histories of the ancient kings of Kashmere maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain 'pir,' or aged saint, named Kacheb, who miraculously cut the mountain of Bareamooleh Kashmere, however is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many hillocks The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden The people of Kashmere are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms The women especially are very handsome But it left no doubt on my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmere as in any part of Europe." Bernier

Bernier was greatly charmed with this count which he called 'the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth' The rose and its essential oil or 'attar' of Kashmere are well known in the East Kashmere is known for its shawls It is celebrated for 'its romantic beauties, for the fertility of the soil and for the temperature of its atmosphere' Kashmere was conquered by Akbar and was made by Jehangir his residence during the summer months. At present Kashmere is under a native ruler

receive from a Káshmiri officer. The judge of the court, through partiality to the irreligious Kashmiri officer, does not compel him to give the rightful revenue to the 'Subidar' In this case it is allowable if the ignorant bring an excuse for their ignorance and foolishness. May God forgive them Yet why should the wise bring forth an excuse? Often have I said with a loud voice and again I say, "In giving the rightful man his due and in crushing the oppression of the tyrants, I do not shew partiality even to any of my sons, then how can I be partial to others[4]?"

The Amir should be satisfied with putting on the gold turban presented to him only on the auspicious Sunday[5]. He should not make another turban.

LETTER CLXXVI.

You should write to my dear son Bahádúr, "This world passed away, and the next one came near (i.e., the world will be destroyed and the day of judgment is near) The things which will be left behind us (after our death) as a memory and which will be useful to us (in the next world) are good and charitable deeds[1]. You should know that you have to depart from this world and therefore do charitable deeds (by taking advantage of your present life) That man is wise who takes advantage of the present time which is between the past and the future, practises as soon

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4 Throughout these letters we have often seen that Aurungzebe was very particular in rendering due justice to his subjects and in removing tyrants from their places Cf Let CXXXII.

5. Here Aurungzebe seems to have followed Akbar's religious system of observing Sunday as a holiday which system he borrowed from the Christians

1. Cf. Let LXXVIII

as he can good and virtuous acts, and considers the present and the future as the past (i e, takes advantage of the present time and does not lose any opportunity). (Verse) 'O Sa'adi'[1] you give daily advice to every one, but you yourself do not act upto it (i.e, nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream).'"

LETTER CLXXVII[1]

I sent my sincere and devoted servant (i e, Asad Khan) to the house[2] of prince Bahadūr By giving a warning to the father (i e, Asad Khán) and the son (i e., Zūl Fikár Khán), I augmented the honour of the prince Evidently he became proud and self-conceited and lost his (royal) dignity. May God forgive him. It is proper on his part that he should tender a personal apology, go to the house of Nasrat Jang[3], beg the Khán's pardon[4], and consider himself a subordinate of his father. The taste of 'kāneh kuchcha'[5] should not be forgotten (Verses) "Do you know what is manliness? Do you know who is a brave man? A brave man is he who puts up with his enemies and associates with his friends"

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2 A great Persian poet, author of the 'Gul-i-Sitán' and the 'Bu-Stán' Cf Let XIV Here Aurangzebe appears to be a great moralist as in many other letters.

1. This letter is in continuation of the previous one. It is not quite clear, the ideas being rather confused.

2 The word in the text for house' is 'daireh' or 'daherun, an Indian word, which also means a 'tent' or an 'idol temple'

3 I e, Zul Fikar Khan, Asad Khan's son. Cf Let CLX

4. It is strange why the prince should tender an apology to an officer. Perhaps he had done the officer some wrong for which Aurungzebe asked him to beg his pardon

5. A kind of raw or unripe food. Hindustani 'khānah' or 'kaneh' food and 'kuchcha,' unripe (oppo of 'pucca') It also means a kind of a vegetable in the Cashmiri dialect.

LETTER CLXXVIII.

You should make a petition to prince A'azam. The prince has interceded for the fault of A'atibár Khán[1]. Saiyad Sa'ad Alláh Dervish[2] has written to the prince to practise great patience. You should write to the prince the two (following) fine and charming hemistichs sung by Abdúl Kádir Bedil[3] which are applicable to this case : (verse) "Fear the sighs of the oppressed, because at the time of their prayer acceptance comes to receive them from the court of God (*i e.*, the sighs of the oppressed are heard and responded to by God)".

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1. He was fort-keeper of Akbarabad in 1665.
2. Cf Let. CXXV.
3. Cf. Let. XCVIII.

Letters addressed to

Abdūl Kásim Khán.

The Khán was distinguished with the title of Mūltifat Khán. (*Cf* Let. CLXII). After the death of Amir Khán, he received the title of Amir Khán. He was the head of the body guards of His Majesty (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe). He knew the most holy nature of Aurungzebe and made fine remarks appropriate to the time and occasion before the emperor.

LETTER CLXXIX.

You should write to Muhammad A'azam Sháh, "I (*i e.*, Aurungzebe) am pleased with your honesty and intelligence How long will the poor Záhedeh Bánū remain in misery and affliction? She has a claim on you and me. To deprive her of this right becomes the cause of displeasure to God. Don't you know to what an extent the overflowing bounty of the forgiving Creator forgives the crimes of many sinners and of men of bad actions? For God's sake and my sake remove from the bosom the old (feeling of) revenge and the remembrance of the former quarrel. You should shew favour to this old lady who has no other relative except you. Her grandsons (esp Badhū) saw an evil day as a punishment of their actions. We have to leave the world, consequently we must put up with every man. (Verse) 'Tell who is the man in the world who has not committed sins (*i e.*, every man in the world commits sins)' I remember the rare words uttered by Miyán Abdūl Latif[1]—may his holy tomb be sanctified–, 'To give countenance to an ungodly person and to deprive a rightful man of his right are the worst crimes'. The Creator of real effects

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1 Cf. Let. XXII.

(*i.e.*, God) produced an effect upon the tongue of this sinner, full of sins (*i.e.*, Aurungzebe) What more can be written than this[2] ?"

LETTER CLXXX.

According to (my) order, whenever Sar Faráz Khán Abdūl Latif Khán[1] comes to salute 'the best of the kingdom' and 'pivot of state affairs'[2], having raised his hand after the salutation he should follow the Khán, when he rides on a horse. If the Khán rides in a 'pálkee'[3], Sar Faráz is free from other ceremonials after saluting the Khán. If the Khán rides on an elephant, he should go after him. If the Khán speaks, he should reply; otherwise, not. Rákánhū and other 'Panj Hazáris' should dismount and salute the Khan Asad Khan should give a betel to Rákánhū and say good bye to other 'Panj Hazáris'

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2. Cf Let XXIV

1. He took part in the Deccan War In 1681 he was made head groom. He was called Dakhani

2. *i.e.*, Asad Khan. Cf Let XCII

3. Palanquin or litter, an Indian word The English word 'palanquin or 'palankeen' comes from this Indian word 'palakee' which is further derived from the Hindustani word 'palang,' a bed, or Sanskrit 'paryanka,' a bed

"They (kūhars or palakee bearers) form a class of foot servants peculiar to India They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys With their 'palakees,' 'singhasans,' 'chandols,' and 'dolis,' they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting There are many in this country; but the best came from the Deccan and Bengal At court, several thousands of them are kept The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 d. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 d" Ain-i-Akbari.

The copy of a mandate issued by

Prince A'azam to Afazal Khan.

LETTER CLXXI.[1]

Saiyad Kamal Khán[2] died. You should write to the agent (asking him) to inform the emperor of this The condition of the followers of the (late) officer is clear to His Majesty (i e., Aurungzebe). Ináyat Alláh Khán[3] is acquainted with the good services of every officer His Enlightened Majesty will appoint him whom he considers fit to this post There is no Cáshmiri in this province whom I can appoint and with whom Ináyat Alláh Khán is pleased. The balance due to this Afghan (i.e , the late Saiyad) will remain of course on paper and will not be received The province will produce a less revenue and the people will be ruined I have heard the awe of Ináyat Alláh Khán to such an extent that I won't accept even a lac of rupees in place of one rupee Change ! change ! change ! (i e , there is a constant change in everything) The (government) affairs require the conditions of the fear of God and the fear of being punished by the king A minister should not entrust such affairs to his relatives and friends Mir Tazn must be in Launi[4]. I have not appointed those, as government servants, who have faith in the Mir's action, and who possess 'jághirs' for oppressing the people and exacting money from them.

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1 This last letter was not written by Aurungzebe but was written or rather issued by prince A'azam to Afazal Khan.

2 Son of Dilir Khan. He was honoured with the title of Khan in 1677 His original name was Kamal ud-Din He was wounded at the siege of Bijapur 1686.

3 Cf Let CLXIX and CXVI

4 A town and district near Delhi, situated in the Doab, between the Jamna and the Hahn

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THE END

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